A GRAMMAR OF YAGARIA

by

G.L. Renck
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Dedicated to my friends,

the Yagaria people,

who taught me their language
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Small letter equivalents of these are used where necessary in the discussion of the grammar, and/or examples.

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<td>demonstrative</td>
<td>MOT</td>
<td>motivational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DES</td>
<td>descriptive</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>NI</td>
<td>non-identity of subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d1</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.DL</td>
<td>1. person dual</td>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.DL</td>
<td>2. person dual</td>
<td>PC</td>
<td>potential conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.DL</td>
<td>3. person dual</td>
<td>PIV</td>
<td>pivotal marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EL</td>
<td>elative</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic mood</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EQ</td>
<td>equation</td>
<td>1.PL</td>
<td>1. person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EX</td>
<td>exclamation</td>
<td>2.PL</td>
<td>2. person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future tense</td>
<td>3.PL</td>
<td>3. person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GN</td>
<td>goal nominalizer</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>person-number marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR</td>
<td>greeting</td>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>PRED</td>
<td>predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>habitual</td>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>progressive aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCT</td>
<td>habitual continuative</td>
<td>QD</td>
<td>quality derivative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFUT</td>
<td>intentional future</td>
<td>QUAL</td>
<td>qualifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IM</td>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>QUANT</td>
<td>Quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMIN</td>
<td>imperative intensifier</td>
<td>RC</td>
<td>real conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMN</td>
<td>imperative number</td>
<td>RE</td>
<td>restrictive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REL  relation marker
SENT sentence
SEQ  sequence
SG  singular
sg  singular
1.SG  1. person singular
2.SG  2. person singular
3.SG  3. person singular
SUB  substantive
SUBJ subject
subj subject
T  tense
TEMP temporal
V  vowel
VB  verb
VBS  verb stem
vi  intransitive verb
VOC  vocative
vt  transitive verb
*  ungrammatical form
0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 THE YAGARIA LANGUAGE

0.1.1 The speakers

Yagaria is a Non-Austronesian or Papuan language of the Central Highlands of New Guinea.

20,756 Yagaria-speaking people, according to the 1973/74 Census figures, live in the area north to east of Mt. Michael, in the Lufa Subdistrict of the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. In addition, there are 360 speakers of the language at Yagaria-Yagusa in the Keiagana-Kanite Census Division of the neighbouring Okapa Subdistrict. The ancestors of those people at Yagaria-Yagusa are said to have migrated there from Yagusa in the present-day Yagaria Census Division. Together with them, the total number of Yagaria speakers is 21,116.

All of the inhabitants of the Yagaria Census Division are speakers of the Yagaria language, and the westernmost dialect of the language extends into the Labogaik Census Division.

The area inhabited by the Yagaria people, though not very large, shows marked topographical differences in itself. The settlements of the Yagaria people are found from the rather low lying areas around Kami and Gotomi (about 1,400 metres = 4,500 ft. above sea level) with their warm and dry climate and open, grass-covered valleys, up to almost 2,500 metres (8,000 ft.), to the edge of the heavily forested areas sloping down from Mt. Michael.

The Yagaria people always were, and still are, with very few exceptions, subsistence farmers. They live in small hamlets with a population of rarely exceeding 400 people. The population of such a hamlet is quite often identical with an exogamous patrilineage clan. The sweet potato is cultivated as the staple diet, besides that, taro, yams, sugarcane, bananas, beans, "pitpit", and a number of spinach-type vegetables are grown and eaten. Domestic animals kept include pigs, dogs, and chickens. The diet is occasionally supplemented by animals (marsupials) and birds hunted with bow and arrow in the forests or the grasslands.

The growing of coffee as a cash crop was introduced toward the end of the fifties, and has increased tremendously over the years. The cash has changed some of the traditional habits of eating and dressing. Rice, tinned meat and fish and other food items are nowadays available in stores throughout the area. Especially the men favour now a more...
European style of clothing, and wear shorts and shirts, instead of the traditional clothing made mainly of bark. Although women's clothing can also be bought, the number of women sticking to traditional clothing, is much greater than that of the men.

The traditional house form amongst the Yagaria people is the round or oval house built on the ground. In the old society, men lived separated from the women and children in the men's house which was the dominant building in the hamlet, some hamlets had even two or more men's houses. A young boy was accepted into the society of the adult men by the initiation ceremonies connected with cane-swallowing and nose-bleeding. The secret cult of the men, from which women and children were excluded, centered around the bamboo flutes which were blown at the occasion of initiations and pig festivals, and were also kept completely secret.

The secrecy of the flutes has been given up in recent years, mainly under the influence of Christian mission activity in the area. The flutes are, however, still blown occasionally in preparation for and as invitation to pig festivals. Men's houses were abandoned in favour of family houses. In more recent years, in a number of villages, larger houses in the style of the old men's houses have been built again. Those new houses are however not restricted to the men, but serve the whole community as gathering places at night, and as guest houses for visitors.

0.1.2 The neighbours

To the south and south-west of the Yagaria area lies the area of the Gimi people. There is quite a distinct language boundary passing through between the villages of Kiovi and Beha. Everywhere else, the Yagaria people are separated from their Gimi speaking neighbours by high ridges and dense uninhabited rain forests.

West of the Yagaria language area, across the Tua river which has belts of unpopulated areas in its deep valley on both of its sides, live speakers of languages of the Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock. The languages bordering Yagaria to the west, belong to the Chuave-Nomane group of the Central Family.

To the north and north-west, also across the Jua river, the Yagaria people are bordered by speakers of the Siane-Yabiyufa language subfamily which belongs, as Yagaria and Gimi, to the East-Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock.

To the north, the Yagaria people are bordered by the Bena-Bena, to the north-east, by the Kafe-Kamano and by the Yate people.
The languages most closely related to Yagaria, are situated to the east of the area: Keiagana and Kanite. Together with them, and with the two a little more distantly related languages Yate and Kamano, Yagaria belongs to the Kamano-Yagaria-Keiagana subfamily of the East-Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock which in turn belongs to the Trans-New Guinea Phylum of the Non-Austronesian languages.

The name "Yagaria" was originally unknown to the people themselves. It originates from the people living to the north of the area. The Bena-Bena people call the region south of their own the "Yagaria" area, and consequently speak of the "Yagaria people" and the "Yagaria language". The Australian Administration which had before and during the Second World War an administration centre and airstrip in the Bena-Bena area, used the term "Yagaria" for topographical purposes. Wurm, after his 1958-59 field survey of the Australian New Guinea Highlands languages, introduced the term for linguistic classification.

0.1.3 Dialects

Yagaria consists of eight main dialects, and some of those have even what could be called sub-dialects, as idiosyncrasies of speech may be found varying from one village to the next within a given dialect.

The distribution of the dialects is shown on the map on Page xiii. All dialects share a high percentage of cognates, e.g. Move and Kami-Kuluka share 92.3%.

The most eastern, and smallest of the dialects, Dagenava, is actually a link in the dialect chain between Yagaria and Keiagana, as there is no distinct boundary between those two languages. The dialect change just progresses from one village to the next, and actually the decision that Dagenava belongs to Yagaria, and the dialect spoken at the neighbouring village of Hamu, to Keiagana, is quite an arbitrary one which has partly been influenced by the Administration's borders between Census Divisions and Subdistricts.

The most western dialect, Huva, which is spoken around the Administration centre of Lufa, and extends into the Labogai Census Division as far west as Kiovi, and into the Yagaria Census Division as far east as Momento, could for certain reasons, mainly of a socio-linguistic nature, be regarded as a separate language. Such separation could certainly not be done on the basis of lexico-statistical evidence (85.6% cognates between Kami-Kuluka and Huva, 81.3% between Move and Huva), but on the basis of structural differences.
For practical purposes, as the present writer has always found, the mutual intelligibility between Huva and the other dialects is great enough, especially when dealing with younger people, to carry on a conversation.

The numbers of the speakers of the different dialects, according to the 73/74 Census figures, is as follows (the Yagaria-Yagusa people are included with the Move dialect speakers):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dagenava</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Move</td>
<td>4,519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamate</td>
<td>2,369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ologutí</td>
<td>2,165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gotomi</td>
<td>2,032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kami-Kuluka</td>
<td>4,469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hira</td>
<td>2,318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huva</td>
<td>2,871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>21,116</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because of the dialect situation, in the past the people never referred to the language as a unit, and had no common name for the language as a whole. They rather referred to dialects or sub-dialects as to the "language of the X-people" (the word X could be the name of a tribe, or a village, a group of hamlets, or a smaller area comprising several villages).

More recently, the term "Yagaria" also for the language has been more generally adopted by the people (except by the speakers of Huva and partly of Hira).

The Move dialect, also known as "Filigano" or "Kiseveloka" dialect, was chosen for language research and literacy purposes in 1961 upon recommendation by S.A. Wurm. Reasons for that choice were the following:

1. The dialect has a large number of speakers,
2. The Move people were quite influential, and their dialect carried a certain prestige already in the old times,
3. The speakers of this dialect had the first permanent contact with people from outside their area, i.e. the Lutheran mission workers who lived amongst them from 1949 on,
4. Move proved to be phonologically and morphologically the most regular of the dialects.

The Move dialect, by being written, has been made the standard version of Yagaria for purposes of literacy. As the Phonemic Statement and the Dictionary (forthcoming), also this present Grammar, when
describing the "Yagaria language", actually describes the Move dialect as the standardised version of that language.

0.2 THE PRESENT GRAMMAR

Research for the compilation of this Grammar was carried out very sporadically during the years from 1961-1964, a few months in 1967, again between 1970 and 1972, and for two months 1973/74. Linguistic work was always done in spare time (of which there seemed never to be quite enough) during the writer's missionary duties at Rongo.

In this Grammar, it is attempted to describe the structure of Yagaria as far as the level of sentence. The description is based on the theory of Tagmemics. However, it was thought to be advantageous for the non-linguist reader or user of this Grammar, if a disintegrated approach to lower and higher levels of the grammar was tried. Therefore, in the outline of this Grammar, the bulk of information has been divided into two major parts, and for naming those, the more traditional concepts of grammar, morphology (up to word level) and syntax (above word level) have been applied. In the practical description, of course, it was often not possible to draw a definite border line between the two parts, as it is also often difficult in tagmemics to stick to just one level in the description of certain features. Thus, some overlapping between "morphology" and "syntax" could not be avoided. For the classification of words, for instance, statements about occurrence and distribution had to be made, and phrases, clauses, or even sentences had to be used as illustrations. In some instances it came in handy to describe some word compounding in the morphology, thereby dealing with phrase level units on the word level. On the other hand, as the decision whether compound words are in fact one or two words, is sometimes quite an arbitrary one, some "morphological" features had to be dealt with on "syntax" levels.

The main concern of the writer was and is, to provide an adequate description of the language, but provide it in a rather simple form so that it remains digestable also for non-linguists. For that reason, the writer has tried to avoid becoming too technical, and restrict linguistic terminology to the minimum necessary for the adequacy of the description.

Since no grammatical description of a language is absolutely complete, most probably gaps will eventually be discovered in this Grammar. There might even be interpretations which further research will prove wrong. It is the hope of the present writer that the next edition of a Yagaria grammar (if it ever appears) will be more complete and more
correct, and will be written by an indigenous speaker of the language.

0.3 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, the writer wants to thank all the men from all over the area, but especially from Kiseveloka, who over the years at one time or another have provided information about the language, foremost his friend and co-worker Uulo Itamu. Of all the others, teachers, evangelists, students, elders, and simple village men, only a few may be mentioned here by name: Imala, Letefa, Hariepe, Uheno, Mosove, and Koyamu. Without their dedicated help, this Grammar could not have been written.

Secondly, the writer's thanks go to all the people at the Australian National University who have helped him:

The staff of the Linguistics Department at the Research School of Pacific Studies, especially to Professor S.A. Wurm, Drs. D. Laycock, T. Dutton, and C.L. Voorhoeve, and Mr. P. Mühlhäusler, for their advice and assistance in the planning and writing up of this Grammar; Dr. J. Haiman of the Linguistics Department at the School of General Studies for putting his unpublished materials on Hua (Huva) at the writer's disposal; Mr. H. Gunther of the Geography Department, Research School of Pacific Studies, for his production of the map of the Yagaria language area.

Last but not least, the writer would like to express his thanks to the Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea for granting him a leave of absence for the purpose of Yagaria language work, and also the Evangelical Lutheran Mission (Leipzig Mission) at Erlangen/Germany for continued financial support during the time of leave.
PHONOLOGY

This section gives a description of the phonemes, and serves as an explanation of the Yagaria spelling system as it has been used since 1967. The system is based on the phonemics statement drawn up by the present writer at that time. Though that statement was termed "tentative" then, the practical orthography based on it proved by its use to be quite adequate, and therefore the spelling system has virtually remained unchanged. Where the writer's views on phonological features have been slightly modified, and differ from those expressed in the Statement of 1967, it will be indicated in this section by a footnote.

1.1 The Phonemes

1.1.1 Consonants

/p/ Voiceless bilabial unaspirated stop with submembers [p], [p·], and [ʔp]
[p] Voiceless bilabial unaspirated stop occurring word initially, and word medially between vowels
[p·] Voiceless bilabial unaspirated lengthened stop fluctuating with [p] in word medial position
[ʔp] Voiceless bilabial unaspirated preglottalised stop fluctuating with [p] in word medial position
/'pəni/ ['pəni] their hands
/'npiʔ/ ['npiʔ] in the water

/b/ Voiced bilabial stop with submembers [b] and [ʔb]
[b] Voiced bilabial stop occurring word initially
[ʔb] Voiced bilabial preglottalised stop occurring word medially between vowels
/'ba/ ['ba] sweet potato
/'abaʔ/ ['aʔbaʔ] woman subj

/t/ Voiceless alveolar unaspirated stop with submembers [t], [t·], and [ʔt]
[t] Voiceless alveolar unaspirated stop occurring word initially, and word medially between vowels
[t·] Voiceless alveolar unaspirated lengthened stop fluctuating with [t] in word medial position
[ʔt] Voiceless alveolar unaspirated preglottalised stop fluctuating with [t] in word medial position
I' tu pal I'a ta ['tupa] ['ata] piece waterfall

/d/ Voiced alveolar stop with submembers [d] and [d]
[d] Voiced alveolar stop occurring word initially
[d] Voiced alveolar preglottalised stop occurring word medially between vowels
/'dotɛ?na/ ['dotɛ?na] food
/'ba?de] ['ba?de] boy

/k/ Voiceless velar unaspirated stop with submembers [k] and [k.]
[k] Voiceless velar unaspirated stop occurring word medially between vowels
[k.] Voiceless velar unaspirated lengthened stop occurring in fluctuation with [k]
/'sokona/ ['sokona] good

/g/ Velar consonant with submembers [k], [g], and [g]
[k] Voiceless velar unaspirated stop occurring word initially
[g] Voiced velar fricative occurring word medially with either [a] or [o] preceding, and at the same time either of the two vowels following, and occurring in fluctuation with word initial [k] utterance medially in the same vowel environment
/'gɛ/ ['kɛ] word
/'ya'ga/ [ya'ga] animal
/'ege/ ['ege] banana
/'hoya 'gɛ/ ['hoya 'kɛ] or ['hoya 'gɛ]

working instructions

/'hoya ga'na?a/ ['hoya ka'na?a] or ['hoya gana?a]

time of work

Note: [g] tends to become [g] when [!] precedes:
/'a'ga/ ['a'ga] instead of [a'ga] fruit

/?/ [?] Voiceless glottal stop occurring word medially (inter-vocally, and as first consonant of a CC sequence), and word finally
/da'mi?o/  [da'mi?o]  give dl me!
/'yop?/  [′yop?]  in the house

/f/ Voiceless fricative consonant with submembers
[f] and [p]
[f] Voiceless labiodental fricative occurring word initially, and medially between vowels
[p] Voiceless bilabial fricative occurring in free fluctuation with [f]
/'fEvə/  [′fEvə]  pitpit
/'fEvə/  [′fEvə]  white cockatoo

/v/ Voiced fricative consonant with submembers [v] and [b]
[v] Voiced labiodental fricative occurring word initially and medially
[b] Voiced bilabial fricative occurring in free fluctuation with [v]
/'vEv/  [′vEv]  man
/'yEvə/  [′yEvə]  tree

/h/ [h] Voiceless glottal fricative occurring word initially and medially
/'hEv/  [′hEv]  mushroom
/da'hEvə/  [da'hEvə]  tell me!

/s/ [s] Voiceless alveolar grooved fricative occurring word initially, and medially between vowels
/sa'mo/  [sa'mo]  cooking pot
/'dEsava/  [′dEsava]  cordyline

/m/ [m] Voiced bilabial nasal occurring word initially, and medially between vowels
/'ma?o/?  [′ma?o?]  here
/na'ma/  [na'ma]  bird

/n/ [n] Voiced alveolar nasal occurring word initially and medially
/'nina/  [′nina]  water
/'dote?na/  [′dote?na]  food

// [!] Voiced velar lateral occurring word initially and medially
/'!una/  [′!una]  axe
/ha'!]i/  [ha'!]i]  fire

Note: Vowels following this consonant, are pronounced with the tongue still in position for the lateral
/y/  Voiced alveolar-alveopalatal consonant with sub-members [y], [j], and [o]
[y] Voiced alveopalatal continuant occurring word initially and medially
[j] Voiced alveolar homorganic affricate, occurring in free fluctuation with [y]
[o] Voiced heterorganic affricate, consisting of alveolar stop followed by alveopalatal grooved fricative, occurring in free fluctuation with [y]
/'yava/  ['yava]  tree
/'hoya/  ['hoya]  garden
/'yu?yuna/  ['yu?yuna]  species of fruit tree

1.1.2 Vowels
/i/  [i]  Voiced high close unrounded front vocoid occurring word initially, medially, and finally
/'i?ene/  ['i?ene]  old woman
/'gina/  ['kina]  path
/'ha?i/  [ha?i]  fire
/ε/  [ε]  Voiced mid open unrounded front vocoid occurring word initially, medially, and finally
/'εve/  ['εve]  sugarcane
/'henaga/  ['henaga]  later
/εi/  [εi]  Voiced mid open unrounded front vocoid gliding to high close unrounded front, occurring word initially, medially, and finally
/'εi?ava/  ['εi?ava]  new
/'fei?pa/  ['fei?pa]  bad
/'gei/  ['gei]  moon
/u/  [u]  Voiced high close rounded back vocoid occurring word initially, medially, and finally
/'u?inana/  ['u?inana]  shade
/'guna/  ['kuna]  netbag
/'ha?vu/  [ha?vu]  bow
/o/  [o]  Voiced mid close rounded back vocoid occurring word initially, medially, and finally
/'o?iva/  ['o?iva]  flying fox
/'gonau/  ['kona]  bamboo
/'ε'no/  [ε'no]  come!
/o/  [o] Voiced mid close rounded back vocoid gliding to high close rounded back, occurring word initially, medially, and finally
/'oʊʔɛ/   [ˈoʊʔɛ]   flower
/'hoʊˈna/   [ˈhoʊˈna]   liver
/'hoʊ/   [ˈhoʊ]   dry

/a/  [a] Voiced low open unrounded central vocoid occurring word initially, medially, and finally
/'aːna/   [ˈaːna]   woman
/'baˈkɪsəv/   [ˈbaˈkɪsəv]   snake

/aɛ/ Voiced unrounded central-front vowel with submembers [aɛ], [aɪ], and [æ]
[aɛ] Voiced low open unrounded central vocoid gliding to mid open unrounded front, occurring word initially, medially, and finally
[aɪ] Voiced low open unrounded central vocoid gliding to high close unrounded front, occurring in free fluctuation with [aɛ]
[æ] Voiced low close unrounded front vocoid occurring word finally in fluctuation with [aɛ] and [aɪ]
/'aɛpa/   [ˈaɛpa]   beginning
/'haɛdæ/   [ˈhaɛdæ]   they shot him

/aʊ/ Voiced central-back vowel with submembers [aʊ], [aʊ̯], and [ɒ]
[aʊ] Voiced low open unrounded central vocoid gliding to mid close rounded back, occurring word initially, medially, and finally
[aʊ̯] Voiced low open unrounded central vocoid gliding to high close rounded back, occurring in free fluctuation with [aʊ]
[ɒ] Voiced low close rounded back vocoid occurring word finally in fluctuation with [aʊ] and [aʊ̯]
/aʊ̯ˈdɪə/   [əʊ̯ˈdɪə]   he stepped
/'haʊnə/   [ˈhaʊnə]   kidney
/'ɡəʊ/   [ˈɡəʊ]   cook!

Note: The four glides /ɛ̆/, /o̯/, /ȧ/, and /aʊ/ always form the nucleus of one syllable, whereas all other VV sequences are true sequences, and belong to different syllables.
1.1.3 Suprasegments

Three tones may be observed in Yagaría, low, mid, and high. But only two minimal word pairs have been discovered which contrast by mid and low tones, so that the existence of two tonemes may be stated:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'ve} & \quad [\text{'vē}] \quad \text{man} \\
\text{'ve} & \quad [\text{'vē}] \quad \text{spirit} \\
\text{ha'li} & \quad [\text{hā'li}] \quad \text{fire} \\
\text{ha'li} & \quad [\text{hā'li}] \quad \text{arrow}
\end{align*}
\]

But this basis obviously is too narrow to establish Yagaría as a tone language. In all other cases where the occurrence of minimal pairs depends on suprasegments, stress is the decisive factor, and the occurring tone is closely linked with stress:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'havu} & \quad [\text{'hāvū}] \quad \text{root} \\
\text{ha'vu} & \quad [\text{hā'vu}] \quad \text{bow} \\
\text{ga'na} & \quad [\text{kā'na}] \quad \text{line} \\
\text{ga'na} & \quad [\text{kā'na}] \quad \text{penis}
\end{align*}
\]

There are three emic degrees of stress: Stress, non-stress, and reduction\textsuperscript{12}. The last degree results in the occurrence of "reduced" syllables in which quite often the vowel is hardly audible. (It has to be maintained, though, that those vowels do exist, because of the prevailing CVCV syllable pattern in the language, and the absence otherwise of all CC clusters except \textsuperscript{7}C.) The term "reduced syllable" will be used frequently in this Grammar, since their occurrence has consequences for the morphology, especially for the verb morphology (cf. 2.3.1.5 and 2.3.2.21.2.)

In this Grammar, stress will be indicated only where necessary to contrast words or word pairs (cf. 1.4).

1.1.4 Distribution of phonemes

There are four different syllable patterns in Yagaría: V, CV, CVC, and VC, of which CV is the most frequently occurring one. Any of the vowels, including the glides, may fill the vowel slot in any syllable, and in any position of the syllable in the word. Any consonant may fill the initial consonant slot of a CV and CVC syllable, the glottal stop, however, does not occur in word initial position. A syllable may be closed only by a glottal stop, i.e. the final consonant slot in a CVC and VC syllable may be filled only by a glottal stop.
1.2 MORPHOPHONEMICS

Preglottalisation may occur with a number of consonants, with the result of consonant clusters being formed. There are, however, some consonants which cannot become preglottalised, these are /g/, /m/, /s/, /f/, /b/, /d/, and the voiceless stops. At the juncture of two morphemes forming one word, the following morphophonemic changes occur if the preceding morpheme closes with a glottal stop, and the following starts with any one of the consonants above:

/g/ becomes voiceless: /?/ + /g/ > /k/
/ha'ni?/ darkness
/-gɛva/ great
/ha'nikɛva/ great darkness

/m/ becomes a voiced stop: /?/ + /m/ > /b/
/'aʔ/ female
/-maʔ/ pivotal marker
/'abaʔ/ woman subj

/s/, /f/, and the voiceless stops cause the glottal stop to disappear:
/?/ + /s/ > /s/
/aʔ-/ negative marker
/'sɛʔo/ hang it up!
/a'sɛʔo/ do not hang it up!
/?/ + /f/ > /f/
/afili'diɛ/ he did not die
/?/ + /p/ > /p/
/noʔ-/ progressive marker
/nopa'gɛ/ he is seeing them
/?/ + /t/ > /t/
/notoʔi'ɔɛ/ I am throwing it away

Note: Some of the morphophonemic changes described in Renck 1967, have been left out of here, and are explained in this grammar as allo morphs, since no general morphophonemic rules can be established for them.

1.3 VOWEL CONTRACTION

In the case of compound verbs (cf. 2.3.5) and close-knit verb phrases (cf. 3.1.2.2), when two words form a semantic unit, the two vowels at their junction may be contracted regressively, i.e. the final
vowel of the preceding word is assimilated into the initial vowel of the
following word. Thus the two words phonetically unite to form one
word. But since that word has two stresses, it is treated as two
separate words in the phonemic spelling, so that the vowel contraction
is phonemically irrelevant. It is, however, important as far as the
pronunciation is concerned.

Examples: /'heɪˈda əˈduɛ/ ['heɪˈdoʊˈduɛ] I came up
/eɪˈliːnə ɛˈsiɛ/ ['ɛɪlinɛˈsiɛ] he shall bring
/eɪˈɪka ˈuˈo/ ['ɛɪˈikuˈo] take it away!
/eɪˈliːnə iˈsiɛ/ ['ɛɪliniˈsiɛ] he shall take it away
/eɪˈɡava ɛˈˈdɪɛ/ ['ɛɪɡaveiˈdɪɛ] he woke up

1.4 PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY

Consonant and vowel morphemes are represented in the practical
orthography, and also throughout this Grammar, by the following symbols:

/p/ by p
/b/ by b
/t/ by t
/d/ by d
/k/ by k
/g/ by g
/ʔ/ by 
/f/ by f
/v/ by v
/h/ by h
/s/ by s
/m/ by m
/n/ by n
/l/ by l
/y/ by y
/i/ by i
/eɪ/ by e
/eɪ/ by ei
/u/ by u
/o/ by o
/ou/ by ou
/a/ by a
/æ/ by ae
/o/ by ao
Although stress is emic, it is left out of the practical orthography. Its indication would be helpful for the non-indigenous reader only, since the indigenous reader will pronounce the words correctly even without the indication of stress, especially in a text. For most indigenous readers, the indication of stress would be more confusing than helpful.

Stress, i.e. the main word stress, is indicated in the Yagaria Dictionary by the accent '.

In this Grammar, the indication of stress is left out except in a few instances where it is necessary to contrast words. In those instances, the same accent ' is used.

2 MORPHOLOGY

2.1 SUBSTANTIVES

In this section all non-verb words are included which take affixes as pronouns, nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, locationals, and interrogatives.

2.1.1 Pronouns

Pronouns occur as personal, possessive, emphatic, and interrogative pronouns (the latter is described under 2.1.6). Both personal and possessive pronouns occur in free word and affixed forms. The emphatic pronoun occurs only as suffix. There are three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, and three persons in each number.

2.1.1.1 Free Form Personal Pronoun

Personal pronouns occur in free word form, and as affixes. In both free word and affixed form, they may occur as subjects in transitive and intransitive clauses, and as objects.

Free form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>dagaea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>gagaea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>agaea</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dual

1. Person la'agaea we dl
2. Person latagaea you dl\textsuperscript{18}
3. Person tagaea they dl

Plural

1. Person lagae we
2. Person lapagae you pl\textsuperscript{18}
3. Person pagae they

Beside the full form, there are two short forms of the personal pronoun, one with an open, and one with a closed last syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Open</th>
<th>Closed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular 1.</td>
<td>dagae</td>
<td>dagae'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gagae</td>
<td>gagae'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>agae</td>
<td>agae'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual    1.</td>
<td>la'agae</td>
<td>la'agae'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>latagae</td>
<td>latagae'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tagae</td>
<td>tagae'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural  1.</td>
<td>lagae</td>
<td>lagae'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lapagae</td>
<td>lapagae'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pagae</td>
<td>pagae'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1.11 Inflection

The personal pronouns take the same inflection suffixes as the nouns (cf. under 2.1.2), but not all the suffixes occurring with nouns, occur with the pronouns.

The Pivotal Marker occurs with pronouns only with further suffixation\textsuperscript{19}, therefore the full pronoun form ending in \(-a\), is used for agentive (cf. 2.1.2.3).

The only inflection marker suffixed to the full pronoun form, is the equation marker (cf. 2.1.2.9).

All other suffixes are attached to one of the short pronoun forms:

The open syllable short form is used with the Pivotal Marker (cf. 2.1.2.3), the Connective clitic -mo (cf. 2.1.2.1-5) and the comitative marker -gi (cf. 2.1.2.7). All other inflection markers are suffixed to the closed syllable short form of the pronoun, and therefore occur in the form of noun class 1 suffixes.
Examples:

Benefactive: dagaese' for me (cf. 2.1.2.4)
Adessive: dagaetoga at me/to me (2.1.2.51)
Ablative: dagaetogati' away from me (2.1.2.53)
Comitative: dagae'e', dagae'ese' with me (2.1.2.7)
Equation: dagaeae' it is I (2.1.2.9)
Connective: dagaemo I and .... (2.1.2.1-5)
Restrictive: dagaeko' I alone (2.1.2.1-3)

2.1.1.12 Occurrence as subject

Free word form personal pronouns may occur as subjects in transitive and intransitive clauses. They do so in their full form.

dagaea gayale hao- d- u- e I shot the pig
I pig shoot-PAST-1.SG-IND

tagaea o- d- i- e he came
he come-PAST-3.SG-IND

The pronouns may also occur in focused phrases (3.1.1.2), especially in transitive clauses where the marking of the subject is obligatory (cf. 2.1.2.3). The occurrence of such pronouns and uses of the pivotal marker are mutually exclusive.

yale pagaea gayale hae- d- a- e the people shot the people they pig shoot-PAST-3.PL-IND pig
ve agaea o- d- i- e the man came
man he come-PAST-3.SG-IND
ve agaea gayale hao- d- i- e the man shot the pig
man he pig shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND

2.1.1.13 Occurrence as object

Free personal pronouns may occur as objects in transitive clauses. They do so in their long form, stressing the person who is the object.

dagaea ø- begi-d- u- e I hit him
I him-hit- PAST-1.SG-IND

dagaea agaea ø- begi-d- u- e I hit him
I he him-hit- PAST-1.SG-IND
The personal pronoun may even occur in a focused phrase occupying an object slot. This occurrence, however, is not very frequent.

The affixed forms of the personal pronouns occur as either suffixes or prefixes. As suffixes, they usually represent the subject of a clause, as prefix, they mainly indicate objects in transitive clauses.

2.1.1.21 Affixed form as Subject

The affixed form of the personal pronoun, when indicating the subject, occurs as suffix with either nouns or verbs.

Note: Very infrequently the prefix (2.1.1.22) may indicate the subject, e.g.

I fell to the ground
I- fall down-PAST-1.SG-IND

I kneeled
I- kneel- PAST-1.SG-IND

I spat
I- spit- PAST-1.SG-IND

2.1.1.21.1 With nouns

The suffixes occurring with nouns, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Person</td>
<td>-da</td>
<td>-ta’a/-la’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>-ka/-ga</td>
<td>-tata/-lata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Person</td>
<td>-’a</td>
<td>-tata/-lata</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They may be suffixed directly to a noun or proper name to stress the subject in verbal clauses, and they may also occur in the predicate of non-verbal clauses.
I am Ovu

my name is Ovu

are you Imala?

is your name Imala?

Ovu, am here

I, Ovu, am here

are you Ima Za?

I am Ima Za

I, Avedini's son,

I, Avedini's son,

shot the enemy
bogoko' gagona- ma- ta'a hoya bogopi' e1i- s- u'- e
one brother-PIV-we dl work together make-IPUT-1.DL-IND
since we dl are brothers, let us dl do the work together

The second person may also function as vocative marker, cf. 2.1.2.8.

2.1.1.21.2 Anticipatory subject with medial verbs

These suffixes assume forms slightly different from the ones occurring with nouns as described in the preceding paragraph. Especially the 3. person in all three numbers shows some irregularities.

The suffixes determine the subject in the following clause. The suffixes anticipating identical subject, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Person</td>
<td>-da</td>
<td>-ta'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-ta'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Person</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-da'a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(for further details on form and usage, cf. 2.3.3.11.1)

The suffixes anticipating non-identical subject, occur following the change-of-subject marker -ga/-aga, and are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Person</td>
<td>-da</td>
<td>-ta'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-tati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Person</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-ti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the 3. person singular, also the less frequent form -na occurs.

(for further details on form and usage, cf. 2.3.3.12)

2.1.1.22 Affixed form as object

The affixed form of the personal pronoun, when indicating the object, occurs as prefix with transitive verbs, and precedes the verb stem. (cf. also 2.3.4.2).

The prefixes assume different allomorphic forms depending on the verb stem.

The allomorphs used on verbs with stem-initial vowels, end on a consonant:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Person</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>la'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>lat-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Person</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>t-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1- aelid- u- e  
him-show-PAST-1.SG-IND  
I showed him

d- aelid- i- e  
me-show-PAST-3.SG-IND  
he showed me

1- age-d- a- e  
us-see-PAST-3.PL-IND  
they saw us

The allomorphs used on verbs with stem-initial consonants, end on a vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Person</td>
<td>da-</td>
<td>la'a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>ga-</td>
<td>lata-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Person</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ta-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1- begid- u- e  
him-hit- PAST-1.SG-IND  
I hit him

da-begid- i- e  
me-hit- PAST-3.SG-IND  
he hit me

1- age-d- u- e  
them-hit- PAST-1.SG-IND  
I hit them

Other allomorphs occur for the 2. and 3. person plural with verbs which have stem-initial h. The bilabial stop in the prefix changes into a fricative:

lap(a) + h- > laf-  
p(a) + h- > f-

lapa- hapid- u- e > lafaeide  
I told you pl

you pl-tell- PAST-1.SG-IND

pa- hao- d- i- e > faodie  
he shot them

them-shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND

Both forms, the one with the stop and the one with the fricative, do occur, but forms with fricatives occur much more frequently than the others, and have therefore to be regarded as the norm. (cf. also 2.1.1.42)
2.1.1.3 Free form Possessive Pronoun (cf. also 2.1.2.2).

Possessive pronouns occur as free words, and as affixes.

Formally, the free word possessive pronoun is the same as the short closed form of the personal pronoun (cf. 2.1.1.1). The possessive pronoun precedes the possessed noun (cf. 3.1.1.12).

dagae' bade my son
my boy
agae' hoya his garden
his garden
lagae' ge our language
our language

2.1.1.4 Affixed Possessive Pronoun

The affixed forms of the possessive pronoun occur as (in order of frequency) suffixes, prefixes and infixes.

2.1.1.41 Possessive suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Person</td>
<td>-di</td>
<td>-ti'a</td>
<td>-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-tati</td>
<td>-tipi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Person</td>
<td>-'a</td>
<td>-ti'a</td>
<td>-pi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these, only the suffix -ti'a is ambiguous, representing the 1. as well as the 3. person dual.

Possessive suffixes are optional with nouns of classes 1 and 2, but obligatory with nouns of class 3.

yo- di my house
house-my
hoya- pi their garden
garden-their
avo- 'a his father
father-his
(for further details, cf. 2.1.2.23 and 2.1.2.24)

2.1.1.42 Possessive prefixes

Possessive prefixes are formally the same as the object prefixes described in 2.1.1.22. Also the distribution of their allomorphs parallels
that of the object prefix allomorphs, depending whether the noun they are prefixed to, starts with a vowel or a consonant:

d- anita
    my hand
my-hand
l- eiyah
    our feet
our-feet
ö- agenopa
    his head
his-head
da-motu-lo'
    above me
my-top- AD
pa- lugona
    their neck
their-neck
da-sa- di-ma'
    my sister
my-sister-my-FIV

There are also the allomorphs with fricatives for the 2. and 3. person plural, occurring with nouns starting with h-:
lapa- hani > lafani
    your pl-forehead
your pl-forehead
pa- heivita > feivita
    their chest
their-chest
nama pa- hakus > nama faku
    the birds' wings
bird their-wing

Both allomorphic forms, the one with the stop and the one with the fricative, do occur, but as the allomorphs with fricatives occur much more frequently than the others, they have to be regarded as the norm.
Possessive prefixes occur mainly to denote inalienably possessed nouns, especially body parts, but they occur also with some kinship terms.

For further details, cf. 2.1.2.21 and 2.1.2.24.

2.1.1.43 Possessive infixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Person</td>
<td>-da-</td>
<td>-'la'a</td>
<td>-'la-/-ta-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>-ka-</td>
<td>-'lata/-tata-</td>
<td>-'lapa/-tapa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Person</td>
<td>-'a/-'i-21</td>
<td>-ta-</td>
<td>-pa-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These infixes occur very rarely, only with five nouns:
The kinship terms  
- e'ava'a  his father  
i'ilala'a  his mother  
e'ago'a  his older brother  
bo'ava'a  his tutor  
and with the noun ei'agina  his bowels  
Example:  

e- da- va- di- ma'  my father  

(father - my- PIV)  
(for further details, cf. 2.1.2.22)  

Judging from their forms, it may be assumed that the infixes were originally prefixes, and became infixes through noun compounding. At present, the above kinship terms are inseparable, there are no nouns *e or *va which would occur in isolation. Also, there are two forms each for the 2. person dual, and the 1. and 2. person plural, and the allomorphs have no different distribution, but are just interchangeable. The allomorphs starting with laterals have a common word initial form (like prefixes) and are most probably the original forms, whereas the ones starting with stops may be a later development.

An example where separation is possible, would be the noun ei'agina, the only body part inalienably possessed by means of an infix. It will in the following be analyzed and compared with the noun eivagina.  
ei guts  (although a body part, the noun never carries prefixation, cf. 2.1.2.21)  
eiva faeces  (never occurs with prefixation, cf. 2.1.2.21)  
gina opening/path  (never occurs inalienably possessed)  

The compound words, however, occur with prefixation or infixation indicating that they are inalienably possessed:  
d- eiva- gina  my anus  
my-faeces-opening  
ei- da-gina  my bowels  
guts-my-opening  
*d- ei- gina  and  * ei- gi- di  
my-guts-opening  guts-opening-my  never occur.
2.1.1.5 Accumulation of possessives

In order to stress who the possessor is, frequently several possessives may occur with one noun. In the case of alienably possessed nouns, only two possessive expressions may be used together, the suffix and the free word:

yo-di  my house
house-my

dagae' yona  my house
my house

In the case of inalienably possessed nouns, up to three possessive expressions may accumulate: the prefix or infix, whichever may be the case, the suffix, and the free word pronoun.

d- oulega  my eye
my-eye

d- oulega-di  my eye
my-eye- my

dagae' d- oulega  my eye
my my-eye

dagae' d- oulega-di  my eye
my my-eye- my

nalu-di  my wife
wife-my

da-nalu-di  my wife
my-wife-my

dagae' nalu-di  my wife
my wife-my

dagae' da-nalu-di-ma'  my wife
my my-wife-my-PIV

2.1.1.6 Emphatic pronoun

The emphatic pronouns are suffixes which are formally identical with the possessive suffixes. They may be glossed as myself, yourself, himself/herself etc.
The emphatic pronouns occur suffixed to the short form of their corresponding personal pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>1. Person</td>
<td>dagaedí</td>
<td>I myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>gagaeka</td>
<td>you yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Person</td>
<td>agae'a</td>
<td>he himself/she herself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>1. Person</td>
<td>la'agaeti'a</td>
<td>we dl ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>latagaetati</td>
<td>you dl yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Person</td>
<td>tagaeti'a</td>
<td>they dl themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>1. Person</td>
<td>lagaeti</td>
<td>we ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>lapagaetipi</td>
<td>you pl yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Person</td>
<td>pagaepi</td>
<td>they themselves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The emphatic pronoun quite often carries the restrictive suffix -go alone/on one's own.

dagaedí-di-go | just I myself |

I- myself-RE

(cf. also 2.1.2.1-3).

Reduplication of personal pronouns suffixed with the emphatic marker, expresses reciprocity:

lagaeti-lagaeti | we amongst ourselves |
we- ourselves we- ourselves

(cf. 3.1.1.2).

For other emphatic pronoun forms, cf. 2.1.1.11, footnote 19 on Page 16.

2.1.2 Nouns

2.1.2.1 Noun classification

The two main classes of Yagaria nouns, numbered 1 and 2, have been established on the basis of morphological rather than semantic criteria. Because of differences of the noun stem endings (closed vs. open syllables) most inflection markers are suffixed to class 1 and class 2 nouns in different allomorphic forms. The suffix allomorphs contrast with each other initially either as consonant vs. vowel, or stop vs. continuant.

There is, however, a group of nouns comprising kinship terms, and since most of those nouns occur with suffixes denoting inalienable possession, they cannot be distributed into the classes 1 and 2. Those nouns therefore have to be treated separately, they are included into
a third class which had to be established on the basis of morphological
(inalienable possession expressed by suffixes) as well as semantic
criteria (kinship).

2.1.2.11 Class 1

The nouns belonging to this class, may denote animates and
inanimates. They may be inalienably possessed nouns (denoted by prefix),
and others.

Class 1 nouns occur in two forms, a long form carrying the
suffix -na, and a short form in which the suffix is omitted, and the
syllable preceding it ends in a glottal stop.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ana</td>
<td>a' woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yona</td>
<td>yo' house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yana</td>
<td>ya' taro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gokolenka</td>
<td>gokole' chicken</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The long form, which occurs less frequently than the short form,
is used for citation, and sometimes as subject, mainly in intransitive
clauses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba</td>
<td>yana ege</td>
<td>gilena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana</td>
<td>hoya no'- eli-e</td>
<td>the woman is working</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The long form may also occur occasionally as object:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ve</td>
<td>agaea ana</td>
<td>eli- d- i- e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>woman take-PAST-3.SG-IND</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The short form occurs as subject in intransitive clauses, and as
object.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>faya' ni-</td>
<td>pi' bei- d- i- e</td>
<td>there are fish in the water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>water-IN</td>
<td>live-PAST-3.SG-IND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yale</td>
<td>pagaea yo'</td>
<td>gi- d- a- e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people</td>
<td>they</td>
<td>house build-PAST-3.PL-IND</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Suffixation occurs only with the short form, except for the
equation marker which is suffixed to the long form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gina</td>
<td>gi' path</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi- to'</td>
<td>on the path</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>path-AD</td>
<td>path-AD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Inflection suffixes which have different allomorphic forms, occur with class 1 nouns in the form with initial consonant (vs. vowel with class 2), or stop (vs. continuant with class 2).

Note: There are nouns which have stems ending in -na, they belong to class 2 (cf. 2.1.2.12). A special group are the nouns with the suffix -'na, they also belong mainly to class 2, with a few exceptions. e.g.

hagóte'na germ which is a class 1 noun:

hagóte-'a its germ
germ- its

Note: The clitic -bona matter/thing behaves somewhat like a class 1 noun, as it occurs carrying class 1 allomorph suffixes -se' (benefactive) and -ba' (pivotal marker), and also occurs in the short form -bo'. Its occurrence is restricted to the following: With demonstrational prefixes ma- and na- (cf. 2.1.4) and with verbs which carry the pivotal marker (cf. 2.3.3.23.2 and 2.3.3.24.2).

2.1.2.12 Class 2

Class 2 includes, like class 1, nouns denoting animates and inanimates, inalienably possessed nouns (denoted by prefix) and others.

Class 2 nouns occur only in one form, ending in an open syllable. The nouns without suffix may occur as subject in intransitive clauses, and as object.

bade o- d- i- e the boy came

boy come-Past-3.SG-IND

gala-ma' bade hao- d- i- e the dog bit the boy
dog- PIV boy bite-PAST-3.SG-IND

Suffixation of any kind occurs directly to the noun. Inflection suffixes which have different allomorphic forms, occur with class 2 nouns in the form with initial vowel (vs. consonant in class 1) or continuant (vs. stop in class 1).
There are some class 2 nouns ending in -na, but that syllable is part of the noun stem, and is never omitted. Suffixation occurs following that syllable.

Another group of class 2 nouns which could be classed as a special sub-class, comprises nouns which behave somewhat like class 1 nouns. Most of them are nominalized verbs (cf. 2.3.3.21 Goal or action nominalizer). They all carry the suffix -'na, but also have a short form occurring without it and ending in a glottal stop. (These short forms function mainly as adjuncts, cf. 2.3.3.22 and 2.1.3.3). But all suffixation occurs with the long form carrying the suffix -'na.
2.1.2.13 Class 3

Since class 3 nouns are all kinship terms, this class includes only animates which are inalienably possessed by suffixation. Because of the obligatory possessive suffixes, in most cases it cannot be determined whether the noun itself ends in a closed or an open syllable. Class 3 nouns are usually cited with the possessive morpheme of the 3. person singular suffixed to them.

Note: The 3. person singular suffix -'a is ambiguous, and can be a personal as well as a possessive pronoun. The noun e'ava'a his father, for instance, could be explained either as e-'a- va-'a or as e-'a- va-'a

\[-his- \underline{his} -his- \underline{he} \]

\[-father- father- \]

That the second explanation is possible, is proven by a form like e-da-va-'a my father

\[-my- \underline{he} \]

\[-father- \]

For the sake of simplicity, also kinship terms have been entered into this class which may occasionally occur without suffixes (e.g. as vocatives). Not included in class 3, however, are nouns which have a "neutral" meaning as well as a kinship meaning, e.g. bade boy/son, abade girl/daughter.

Inflection suffixes follow the possessive suffix, and occur in the same allomorphic form as they do with class 2 nouns.

avo- di-ma' my father subj

father-my-PIV

hinapu' bade ita- 'a- loga bei- d- i- e the little boy is with young boy mother-his-AD live-PAST-3.SG-IND his mother

Some kinship terms, besides carrying the possessive suffixes, have obligatory possessive infixation. For those, cf. 2.1.2.22.

With some kinship terms, obligatory or optional prefixation occurs:

d- agana- di my younger brother

my-younger brother-my

da-sa- di my sister

my-sister-my
Especially mentioned should be the two kinship morphemes eva father and ila mother which occur as class 3 nouns (cf. 2.1.1.43 and 2.1.2.22), but also as suffixes to proper names:

Hane-'eva  
Hane's father

Hane-father

Saesi-'ila  
Saesi's mother

Saesi-mother

Such suffixed names are very frequently used instead of proper names of the people with children, and tend to turn into proper names themselves.

2.1.2.2 Possession

For the majority of nouns, possession is optional, and is expressed mainly by suffixes, or by free pronoun phrases. Inalienable possession occurs with body parts and other items belonging essentially to a person, and with kinship terms.

For inalienably possessed nouns, there are three ways of expressing possession:

prefixation, with body parts and other items belonging essentially to a person,

infixation, with four kinship terms and one body part,

suffixation, with all kinship terms of class 3.

2.1.2.21 Obligatory prefixation

Body parts occur with obligatory possessive prefixes, and so do nouns denoting items belonging essentially to a person, like agi name, ãmuna breath, eimuta seat, age reputation, muna sore.

The prefixes are described in 2.1.1.42.

\[
\begin{align*}
d- \text{agenopa} & \quad \text{my head} \\
\text{my-head} & \\
da-\text{muna} & \quad \text{my sore} \\
\text{my-sore} & \\
d- \text{eimuta} & \quad \text{my seat} \\
\text{my-seat} & \\
\end{align*}
\]
Exceptions from the rule are the following body parts which never occur with prefixation, but are optionally suffixed to indicate possession:

galéna penis ikona navel duna breast
galé-di my penis
penis-my
iko-di my navel
navel-my
du-'a her breast
breast-her

The noun lugona neck/throat carries optional prefixation or suffixation, or both, cf. 2.1.2.24.

Emanations from the body occur in two groups.
eiva faeces, latu urine, golana blood, and ona pus never occur with prefixation, but are optionally suffixed to indicate possession:
eiva- 'a his faeces
faeces-his
latu-di my urine
urine-my
gola-ka your blood
blood-your
o- 'a his pus
pus-his
eidana saliva, eise sweat, onunu tear, and heinitu mucus occur with prefixation:
d- eidana my saliva
my-saliva
g- eise your sweat
your-sweat
d- onunu my tears
my-tear
da-heinitu my mucus
my-mucus
Inalienable possession is expressed by obligatory prefixation with the noun valu agemate, and with the clitic ao'- friend.

da-valu        my agemate
my-agemate

da-valu-    di-ma'       my agemate subj
my-agemate-my-PIV

d- ao'-    ve        my friend
my-friend-man

d- ao'-   yale     my friends
my-friend-people

Inalienable possession expressed by obligatory prefixation, occurs with some kinship terms, cf. 2.1.2.13.

All inalienably possessed nouns with obligatory prefixation have optional suffixation as well:

d- agota-di        my nose
my-nose- my

2.1.2.22 Obligatory infixation

The five nouns described in 2.1.1.43 take possessive infixes. Optional suffixation occurs in addition, though the 3. person singular suffix may be ambiguous, cf. 2.1.2.13, note.

e-da- va-di-ma'       my father subj
       -my-     my-PIV
father-

e-da- va-'a          my father
       -my-     he
father-

i-da- la-di-ma'       my mother subj
       -my-     my-PIV
mother-

i-da- la-'a          my mother
       -my-     she
mother-

ei-da-gina        my bowels
       -my-     bowels
2.1.2.23 Obligatory suffixation

Obligatory suffixation to denote possession, occurs with most kinship terms of noun class 3. The suffixes occur as described in 2.1.1.41.

For nouns which have, besides the kinship meaning, a "neutral" meaning, and are therefore not included in class 3, the suffixation is optional:

- bade-di  
  my son
- boy-my
- abade-ti  
  our daughter
- girl-our

Exceptions from the suffixation rule may occur when kinship terms are used to address relatives. This kind of vocative does not carry a possessive suffix.

avo  father!  (cf. also 2.1.2.8)

Prefixation which occurs obligatorily or optionally with kinship terms in addition to the suffixation, is described in 2.1.2.13.

2.1.2.24 Alienable Possession

The greater majority of nouns belongs to this group. Suffixation is the rule to express possession, prefixation occurs very rarely, and only with nouns belonging into semantic groups of nouns which in general are inalienably possessed (body parts, kinship terms).

The possessive suffixes occur as described in 2.1.1.41. With class 1 nouns, they are suffixed to the short form of the noun.

Optional prefixation to express possession, occurs with some kinship terms and body parts, e.g. na lu'a his wife (2.1.2.13) and lugona neck:

- da-lugona  
  my neck
- my-neck
- lugo-di  
  my neck
- neck-my
- da-lugo-di  
  my neck
- my-neck-my
2.1.2.3 Pivotal marker

The pivotal marker gives the noun to which it is suffixed, a central position in a noun phrase or a clause.

The pivotal marker occurs as a suffix with the following allomorphs:

- ma' after open syllables, i.e. after class 2 nouns and possessive suffixes,
- ba' after closed syllables, i.e. class 1 nouns (the glottal stop disintegrates into the b, cf. 1.2).

ve- ma' the man
man-PIV

bade-ma' the boy
boy- PIV

a- ba' the woman
woman-PIV

a- 'a- ma' his wife
woman-his-PIV

bade-'a- ma' his son
boy- his-PIV

Since the marking of the subject in a transitive clause is obligatory, the pivotal marker occurs as agentive marker in transitive clauses (in the same way as a personal pronoun does, cf. 2.1.1.12).

ve- ma' gayale hao- d- i- e the man shot the pig
man-PIV pig shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND

The pivotal marker may also occur as subject marker in intransitive clauses, but that marking is optional.

a- ba' o- d- i- e the woman came
woman-PIV come-PAST-3.SG-IND

The pivotal marker also functions as marker of the possessor in a possession phrase:

ve- ma' bade the man's son
man-PIV boy

a- ba' abade the woman's daughter
woman-PIV girl
a'i yo- ba' agi-'a the name of that village
that village-PIV name-its

(This kind of phrase resembles the Hebrew construct-absolute phrase, with the noun carrying the pivotal marker, taking the place of the absolute case.)

The pivotal marker also occurs with verbs in participle-like forms, cf. 2.3.3.23.

2.1.2.4 Benefactive

The benefactive marker occurs as a suffix with the following allomorphs:

- e' after open syllables, i.e. class 2 nouns and possessive suffixes,
- se' after closed syllables, i.e. class 1 nouns and suffixes ending in closed syllables (the glottal stop disintegrates into the s, cf. 1.2).

The benefactive marker could be glossed with: for, in view of, with regard to, about, because of

m- igopa-e' ga- hapei-d- u- e I told you about this land
this-land- BEN you-tell- PAST-1.SG-IND

gae-se' d- amota ei-d- i- e I was afraid of you
you- BEN me-afraid - PAST-3.SG-IND

yo- se' no- s- un- e we are talking about the house
house-BEN PROG-speak-1.PL-IND

valu- 'a- ma- se' gau ao-d- i- e he searched for his friend
friend-his-PIV-BEN search- PAST-3.SG-IND

hoya- e' ge vei-d- a- e they argued about the garden
garden-BEN argue- PAST-3.PL-IND

If the benefactive marker is suffixed after an open syllable ending in -e, vowel assimilation takes place:

pagae' ge- e' da-hei' no'- v- ei- e their word-BEN me-anger PROG-envelop-3.SG-IND

> pagae' ge' dahe'i no'veie I am angry about their talk

Adessive and benefactive marker combined occur as an expanded suffix with benefactive meaning, with the following allomorphs:

-lose' after open syllables,
-tose' after closed syllables (glottal stop disintegrates into the stop, cf. 1.2).
we are talking about the pig
pig- BEN PROG-speak-1.PL-IND

they are arguing about the
woman-BEN woman

2.1.2.5 Locatives

Formally and semantically, four locatives have to be distinguished:

   Adessive: Position at, or movement to
   Inessive: Position in, or movement into
   Ablative: Movement away from
   Elative: Movement out of

All locatives can express temporals when suffixed to nouns with a temporal meaning.

2.1.2.51 Adessive

With inanimates, the adessive marker occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:

- -to' after open syllables
- -to' after closed syllables

gi-pa-to' at the door
doors-AD

gi-gopa-lo' on the ground
ground-AD

yavá-to' on the stone
stone-AD

yáva-lo' on the timber
timber-AD

yo-to' at the house
house-AD

Note: Reduplication of this word expresses ubiquity,
yoto' yoto' at all places, cf. also the reduplication
yo'e yo'e', 2.1.2.7.

yo- 'a- lo' at his house
house-his-AD
With animates, the adessive suffix occurs also with two allomorphs:
- loga after open syllables
- toga after closed syllables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender / Case</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a- toga</td>
<td>at the woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman-AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bade-loga</td>
<td>at the boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boy-AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dagae-toga</td>
<td>at me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I- AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This morpheme is obligatory with animates, it may, however, also occur with inanimates. That use is optional, its occurrence not too frequent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender / Case</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gi- toga</td>
<td>at the path</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>path-AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo- toga</td>
<td>at the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house-AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo-'a- loga</td>
<td>at his house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house-his-AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haopa-loga</td>
<td>at the side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side- AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The locational morpheme -ga which is part of -loga/-toga, occurs also with locational or temporal expressions with which is inseparably connected:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buga</td>
<td>over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bega</td>
<td>over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biga</td>
<td>over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mega</td>
<td>on the surface</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gelega</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fega</td>
<td>at daytime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoga</td>
<td>left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamaga</td>
<td>right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gavuga</td>
<td>year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>henaga</td>
<td>afterwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ega</td>
<td>one day from now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olega</td>
<td>two days from now</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other suffixing, however, may occur after the morpheme -ga:

The adessive suffix: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender / Case</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buga- lo'</td>
<td>over there-AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bega- lo'</td>
<td>over there-AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biga- lo'</td>
<td>over there-AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fega- lo'</td>
<td>over there-AD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The morpheme -ga may also be expanded with a directional morpheme -yaga to -gayaga (open syllables)/-kayaga (closed syllables):

- **ma-gayaga** over here, this way
  this-AD
- **hoga-gayaga** to the left, at the left
  left-AD
- **lamaga-gayaga** to the right, at the right
  right-AD
- **Getoli-gayaga** at Getoli, towards Getoli
  Getoli-AD
- **bogo-kayaga** on one side, to one side
  one-AD
- **Hagavi-kayaga** towards Hagavi, at Hagavi
  Hagavi-AD
- **buga-gayaga** towards over there
  over there-AD

2.1.2.52 Inessive

The inessive marker occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:

- **-vi**' after open syllables
  - **yo-pi**' in the house, into the house
    house-IN
  - **yo-pi-vi**' in their house, into their house
    house-their-IN
- **gipa-pi**' in the door, into the door
  door-IN
- **hoya-vi**' in the garden, into the garden
  garden-IN
- **igopa-vi**' in (to) the ground, in (to) the land
  ground-IN
- **ni-pi**' in the water, into the water
  water-IN
- **yege bogo-vi**' on another day
  sun one-IN
Another inessive marker, an expanded type of the one just described, occurs as a suffix with three allomorphs:

- *-vinaga* after open syllables
- *-pinaga* after closed syllables
- *-inaga* after closed syllables which retain their glottal stop, and after open syllables in instances where the vowel is assimilated

(yao- *vinaga* in the forest)

(yo- *pinaga* in the house)

(hani'- *inaga* in the night)

(ei- + *inaga* >) ei- *naga* in the heart inside a person bowels

Examples of adessive and inessive markers being used synonymously, are:

agovetu-lo' on top (of)

top- AD

agovetu-vi' on top (of)

top- IN

ae motu-lo' on top of the mountain

mountain peak-AD

ae motu-vi' on top of the mountain

mountain peak-IN

The inessive is also used occasionally where adessive could be expected:

yava aepa-vi' at the bottom of the tree
tree base-IN

The locational expression hita-gi- pi' under the bed

bed- opening-IN

is also used as general free locative word underneath

yavá' hitagipi' under the stone

stone underneath
2.1.2.53 Ablative

The general ablative morpheme is -ti', it occurs, however, as often as not isolated from either an adessive or inessive morpheme, therefore the separation of ablative and elative seems more appropriate than their combination.

With inanimates, the ablative marker occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:

- loti' after open syllables
- toti' after closed syllables

hoya- loti' from the garden
garden-AB
guma- toti' from the village
village-AB

With animates, the ablative suffix occurs with two allomorphs:

- logati' after open syllables
- togati' after closed syllables

gayale-logati' from the pig
pig- AB
gokole- togati' from the chicken
chicken-AB
pagae-togati' from them
they- AB

This morpheme is obligatory with animates, it may, however, also occur with inanimates. That use is optional, its occurrence not too frequent.

yo- togati' no'-e he is coming from the house
house-AB PROG-come 3.SG IND

yo- 'a- logati' no'- e he is coming from his house
house-his-AB PROG-come 3.SG IND

The occurrence of -ti' together with the adessive morpheme -ga is not too frequent. It is found in directional expressions:

glelegati backwards
bugagayagati' from over there
2.1.2.54 Elative

The elative marker occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:

-\textit{viti}' \quad \text{after open syllables}
-\textit{piti}' \quad \text{after closed syllables}

\textit{igopa-}\textit{viti}' \quad \text{out of the ground, out of the land}
\textit{ground-EL}

\textit{ni-}\textit{piti}' \quad \text{out of the water}
\textit{water-EL}

\textit{yo-}\textit{piti}' \quad \text{out of the house}
\textit{house-EL}

\textit{yo-pi-}\textit{viti}' \quad \text{out of their house}
\textit{house-their-EL}

\textit{dete-}\textit{piti}' \quad \text{from the morning on}
\textit{morning-EL}

An expanded elative marker morpheme occurs as suffix with three allomorphs:

-\textit{vinagati}' \quad \text{after open syllables}
-\textit{pinagati}' \quad \text{after closed syllables}
-\textit{inagati} \quad \text{after closed syllables which retain their glottal stop, and after open syllables in instances where the vowel is assimilated}

\textit{yao-}\textit{vinagati}' \quad \text{out of the forest}
\textit{forest-EL}

\textit{yo-}\textit{pinagati}' \quad \text{out of the house}
\textit{house-EL}

\textit{hani'-}\textit{inagati}' \quad \text{out of the darkness}
\textit{night-EL}

(\textit{ei-} + \textit{inagati}') \quad \text{ei-}\textit{nagati}' \quad \text{from his heart}
\textit{bowels-EL} \quad \text{bowels-EL}

An example of the elative marker being used where the ablative marker (being morphologically identical with the instrumentive marker) would be expected:

\textit{pagae'} ge-\textit{viti'} hu- \text{d- a- e} \quad \text{they spoke in their language}
\textit{their language-EL} \quad \text{speak-PAST-3.PL-IND}
2.1.2.6 Instrumentative

The instrumentive marker is morphologically identical with the ablative marker, it occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:

-\textit{loti}' after open syllables
-\textit{toti}' after closed syllables

It denotes the instrument with which an action is performed, or the material from which something is made.

\begin{verbatim}
lu-\textit{toti}' hali poloti-d- i- e he split firewood with an axe
axe-INST firewood split- PAST-3.SG-IND

gave-\textit{loti}' da-begi-d- i- e he hit me with a stick
stick-INST me-hit- PAST-3.SG-IND

yavá-\textit{toti}' lu' elo hi-d- a- e they made axes from stone
stone-INST axe make- PAST-3.PL-IND

bakisave eipa-\textit{loti}' vuyuli vuyuli no- s- i- e the snake is
snake belly-INST PROG- 3.SG-IND crawling on his belly
crawl-
\end{verbatim}

For \textit{geviti}' in the language (means of expression), cf. 2.1.2.54.

2.1.2.7 Comitative

The comitative markers are '\textit{e}' and '\textit{ese}' which occur as suffixes and are glossed as \textit{with} or \textit{together with}. Both markers have the same meaning and distribution, and there are no allomorphs of either of them. They may be suffixed directly to the noun, or after a possessive and/or pivotal marker.

\begin{verbatim}
avo- 'a- 'e' with his father
father-his-COM

avo- 'a- 'ese' with his father
father-his-COM

avo- 'a- ma- 'e' with his father
father-his-PIV-COM

avo- 'a- ma- 'ese' with his father
father-his-PIV-COM

bade- 'e' with the boy
boy- COM
\end{verbatim}
bade-'ese'    with the boy
boy- COM

igopa ni- 'ese'    land with water (i.e. moist, fertile soil)
ground water-COM

The comitative marker is used as conjunction when it occurs on several nouns in succession:

dagae-'e' yale- di-'e'    I and my people
I- COM people-my-COM

agaea halitipa-'ese' hagita-'e' eli- d- i- e    he took fire and a
he fire- COM knife- COM take-PAST-3.SG-IND knife

lole-'e' bogo-'e'    three
two- COM one- COM

The repetition of nouns carrying the comitative marker, has a distributive function, expressing local or temporal ubiquity:

igopa- 'e' igopa-'e'    in all lands, on the whole earth
land- COM land- COM

yo- 'e' yo- 'e'    in all inhabited places
house-COM house-COM

yege-'e' yege- 'e'    day by day, every day
sun- COM sun- COM
dete- 'e' dete- 'e'    every morning
morning-COM morning-COM

Note: bogo- 'e'    once more
another-COM

There is another comitative morpheme, -gi, which occurs very seldom on its own. It usually occurs together with one of the other comitative markers as expanded form -gi'e' or -gi'ese'. It occurs mainly, but not exclusively, with personal pronouns and proper names, and, if repeated with subsequent nouns, has also a conjunctive function. If occurring with pronouns, it is suffixed to the short open form of the pronoun.

lagagae-gi'e'   lo'-no- kao- e    I am joining you pl
you pl- COM     PROG- IND
                join 1.SG-
2.1.2.8 Vocative

The vocative marker is -o, suffixed to the noun either directly or after possessive, pivotal or connective marker:

ve-di-o my friend
man-my-VOC

ve-di-ma-o my friend!
man-my-PIV-VOC

(ve-di-mo- + -o >) ve-di-mo my friend!
man-my-CON-VOC man-my-CON-VOC

apa-o brother!
older brother-VOC

da-valu-o my friend! (said by male of male)
my-friend-VOC

ahu-o my friend! (said by female of female)
friend-VOC

avo-di-o father!
father-my-VOC

A vocative marker occurring with the dual, is -gila'a:
da-valu-gila'a my two friends!
my-friend-VOC DL

Other vocative markers occur with the plural:
-gila: da-valu-gila my friends!
my-friend-VOC PL

-la: ma-yale-magi-la you people here!
this-people-PL-VOC PL

-guse': ve-guse' you men!
man-VOC PL

Other ways of expressing vocative, are:

Kinship terms used without possessive suffixes:
apa brother!
avo father!
ató mother!
Also other nouns may be used occasionally without suffixation as vocatives:

d- ao' ve my friend!

my-friend-man

Nouns and proper names with preceding de human person:

de avo father!

man father

de ato mother!

woman mother

de apa brother!

man older brother

de apa- o brother

man older brother-VOC

de Uulo Uulo! Mr. Uulo!

man Uulo

Suffixation of personal marker of 2. person singular after the pivotal marker:

apa- di-ma- ga my brother!

older brother-my-PIV-you sg

avo- ti- ma- ga our father!

father-our-PIV-you sg

Vocative may also be expressed by prefixed demonstrative:

ma- yale people!

this-people

2.1.2.9 Equation

The equation marker is -e 24 , it occurs mainly in non-verbal clauses and functions as a kind of copula which does not exist in Yagaria as a separate word. It occurs suffixed only to open syllables, in the case of class 1 nouns and personal pronouns to the long forms of both.

Hane agae' nalu-'a- e' it is Hane's wife
Hane his wife-his-EQ

Hane agae' ana- e' it is Hane's wife
Hane his woman-EQ
gayale-'a- e' it is his pig
pig- his-EQ
ima yava dalepa- e' that tree there is a casuarina
there tree casuarina-EQ
dagaea-e' it is I
I- EQ

The equation marker also occurs with the citation of proper names:
agi- 'a Veyamo-e' hi- io call pl him Veyamo!
name-his Veyamo-EQ speak-IM PL

Recent developments of language usage include greeting formulas in analogy to Pidgin greetings. Those formulas carry the equation marker:
dete'- na- e' good morning
morning-COMP-EQ
ute'- na- e' good afternoon, good evening
evening-COMP-EQ
fega- e' good day
at daytime-EQ
hani'-inaga-e' good night
night-IN- EQ

2.1.2.1-0 Interrogative

The interrogative markers which are basically verb suffixes, but also occur with substantives, mainly in non-verbal interrogative clauses, are described under 2.3.2.4., also with regard to their occurrence with substantives.

2.1.2.1-1 Negative

The negative marker occurs as suffix with three allomorphs, -opa, -ope, and -nope. -opa and -ope are mutually exchangeable, they occur after open syllables. -nope is a contraction of n or glottal stop plus -ope. The negative marker occurs, as the equation marker, mainly in non-verbal clauses.
de- opa it is not a man
man-NEG
igopa-ope it is not the land
land- NEG
yo-nope  it is not a house
house-NEG
dage-opa  it is not I
I -NEG
m-igopa-lo-nope  it is not in this land
this-land -AD-NEG
ma-lo-nope  it is not here
this-AD-NEG
ma-yo-nope  it is not this house
this-house-NEG
haga' ege-opa  it is not a tasty banana
tasty banana-NEG

2.1.2.1-2 Number

In general, there are no number markers with persons except the personal pronouns. Number is usually not indicated at all with inanimates and smaller animals, but if a number has to be denoted, numerals are used. Some suffixes which serve as number markers, are described in the following.

Singular: The noun gano person, individual occurs as a clitic to indicate singularity. It occurs with two allomorphs:

- gano  after open syllables
- kano  after closed syllables

a- kano-ma'  a woman, the one woman
woman-SG- PIV
ve- gano-ma'  a man, the one man
man-SG- PIV
gayale-gano  a pig, the one pig
pig- SG

Dual marker -gi'a occurs not too frequently on its own:

da-valu- gi'a  my two agemates
my-agemate-DL

More often, though, the marker occurs in an expanded form which could be explained as a dual form of the pivotal marker. That expanded form occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:
Another expanded form occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:

- magi't a after open syllables
- bagi't a after closed syllables

bade-magi't a the two boys
boy- DL

gayale-magi't a the two pigs
pig- DL

a- bagi't a the two women
woman-DL

Furthermore, the 3. person dual personal pronoun suffixes (cf. 2.1.1.21.1), and the numeral lole two (cf. 2.1.7) may be used to indicate dual.

veale ve- lata the two spouses
married people-they dl

bade-lata lole the two boys
boy- they dl two

abade-lata- 'a his two daughters
girl- they dl-his

a- tata the two women
woman-they dl

Plural marker -gi\textsuperscript{26} occurs not too frequently on its own:

da-valu- gi my agemates
my-agemate-PL

More often, the marker occurs in an expanded form which could be explained as a plural form of the pivotal marker. That expanded form occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:

- magi after open syllables
- bagi after closed syllables
pagae' bade-magi  their boys  
their boy -PL

a'i yo- toti'  a-  bagi  the women from that village  
that house-AB  woman-PL

The suffix -la occurs infrequently to denote plural other than vocative (cf. 2.1.2.8):
g- ao-  k-  aemi-  la  your friends and affines
your-friend-your-son in law-PL

Note: Semantically pluralic are the following nouns:
yale  people
lu  group
luna  group of descendants
yuva  group, crowd

These nouns may be modified by other nouns, and form with them a phrase which is pluralic:
bade yuva  the boys
boy group

game' yale  the enemies
fight people

2.1.2.1-3 Restrictive

The restrictive marker may be glossed as self, alone, just, completely. As it implies also intensification, it could in some instances be glossed as very. It occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:

- go'    after open syllables
- ko'    after closed syllables

The marker is only infrequently suffixed directly to nouns:

ve- go'  just male
man-RE

a- ko'  just female
woman-RE

It occurs more often with pronouns, and also with adverbial expressions. With nouns, it is mostly suffixed after possession and other markers:
dagae-ko'  I alone
I-  RE
just myself

just great darkness, very great darkness

just without purpose

I hear that just now

The relation marker -'i' occurs only with nouns or noun phrases which are semantically dual or plural, and denotes relation (e.g.

possession) between that noun or noun phrase, and another noun or phrase.

the house of those people

the father of the boys

the agemates of those two boys

the story of the two women

The benefactive marker may be suffixed after the relation marker:

I am telling you about those people

tell

If the relation marker is suffixed after a word final -i, then vowel assimilation takes place:

the food of his older brothers

The connective particle occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:

after open syllables

after closed syllables

It is the most frequently re-occurring morpheme in speech, cannot
be glossed, and in general is untranslatable. Its occurrence is not restricted to nouns, it occurs also with other words in a clause. Its functions are to connect the words in speech, especially in longer clauses, and to focus attention on certain words to which it is suffixed. With personal pronouns, it is suffixed to the short open form.

```
pagae-pi- go-bo ba eli-da e- da emu-
they-themselves RE-CON sweet potato take-3.PL come-3.PL earth oven-
mo gi-da de-d- a-e
CON cook-3.PL eat-PAST-3.PL-IND
they themselves brought the sweet potatoes, cooked them in the earth
oven, and ate them
```

Note: This sentence would be grammatically correct and intelligible without the connective markers:

```
pagae-pi- go' ba eli-da e-da emu
they-themselves-RE sweet potato take-3.PL come-3.PL earth oven
gi-da de-d- a-e
cook-3.PL eat-PAST-3.PL-IND
they themselves brought the sweet potatoes, cooked them in the earth
oven, and ate them
```

In non-verbal clauses consisting mainly of nouns, the connective particle has been observed as a kind of link between subject and predicate, putting the subject into focus:

```
ma-hoya-mo a- ba' eli-d- i- ma' hoya-e'
this-garden-CON woman-PIV make-PAST-3.SG-PIV garden-EQ
this garden is the garden which the woman planted
dagae-mo d-agi-di-mo Imala-ma-da my name is Imala
I- CON my-name-CON Imala-PIV-I
```

Note: These clauses would be grammatically correct and intelligible without the connection markers:

```
dagaea d-agi-di Imala-ma-da my name is Imala
I my-name my Imala-PIV-I
```

The connective particle tends to be used much more frequently by older and/or less sophisticated people. Because of its focalizing function, more sophisticated people try to avoid focalisation on too many points of a clause at once, and tend to leave it out of speech.

2.1.2.1-6 Complemental marker

The complemental marker, the clitic -na, can be glossed as matter, thing, property of. It has to be distinguished from the
suffix -na which occurs in the long form of class 1 nouns, since the complemental marker occurs in suffixation to the short form of class 1 nouns which retain the glottal stop.

We may, e.g., compare hanina / hani' night
with hani'-na something belonging to the
night-COMP night, matter of darkness
and hani'hani' black
with hani'hani'-na something black,
black-COMP black object

Other examples:
ouva-lo'-na thing belonging on his body (i.e. clothing)
body-AD-COMP
hoya- na garden matter
garden-COMP

The complemental marker occurs also in the verb-derived -te'na-
nouns of class 2 (cf. 2.1.2.12)
dote'- na edible matter (i.e. food)
edible-COMP

Furthermore, it occurs:
with pronouns: agae'-na his matter, his business
he- COMP
with demonstratives: ma- na this matter
this-COMP
na- na that matter
that-COMP
na- na- ma' that matter
that-COMP-PIV
a'i- na that matter
that-COMP

with verbs: eli- d- i- ma'-na the thing which he got
take-PAST-3.SG-PIV-COMP

with adjectives: It is suffixed to adjectives which occur as
predicative adjuncts, cf. 2.1.3.

Words carrying the complemental marker, behave like class 2 nouns, that means noun markers may be suffixed to them as to open syllables.

hoya- na- e' ga- hapei-s- u- e I shall tell you about the
garden-COMP-BEN you-tell- IFUT-1.SG-IND things of the garden
dote'- na- vi' hano- d- i- e it is in the food
edible-COMP-IN exist-PAST-3.SG-IND
The complementary marker may even take the place of a noun, and, though being a clitic, form a structure with a preceding modifier which is actually a phrase, though its appearance is that of a word.

*na- na- ma' da-habao-d- i- e*  
that thing has helped me
*that-COMP-PIV me-help- PAST-3.SG-IND*

*ma- na- loti' begi-o*  
hit it with this
*this-COMP-INST hit- IM SG*

*ougegesa-na eli- 'o*  
take dl the big one!
*big- COMP take-IM DL*

*eli- d- i- ma'- na- lo'*  
on the thing which he got
*take-PAST-3.SG-PIV-COMP-AD*

### 2.1.3 Adjectives

To establish the group of words described hereunder, functional criteria had to be used. For the purpose of this grammar, an adjective is defined as a word occurring as attributive or predicative adjunct with nouns.

The description of adjectives poses many problems. The easiest way would be to avoid the term "adjective" with its underlying concept altogether as being foreign to the language. Many words fitting the above definition of "adjective", could then be dealt with in other grammatical categories, being derivations from nouns or verbs. There are, however, a number of words which cannot be explained as either a nominal or a verbal form or derivation. These words, termed "Primary Adjectives", will be dealt with first in the following, and will be used to determine the morphological behaviour of "adjectives". The "Secondary Adjectives" are derivations from nouns or verbs, or local or temporal expressions occurring as noun adjuncts. They therefore exhibit some morphological features of their own, but generally the morphological system as established with the "primary adjectives", is applied to the "secondary adjectives" as well.

#### 2.1.3.1 Primary adjectives

There are two groups of primary adjectives, those which follow the morphological pattern of class 1 nouns, and those which follow the pattern of class 2 nouns. Most adjectives exhibit a short or not-suffixed form for attributive occurrence, and a long or suffixed form for predicative occurrence. The long form ends in the syllable -*na*
which can be interpreted either as the closing syllable of the long form of class 1 nouns, or else as the complenatal marker.

2.1.3.11 Class 1

Examples for adjectives following the noun class 1 pattern, are:

- haga' / hagana taste
- fagi' / fagina far
- fate' / fatena far
- havá' / havána unimportant
- lava' / lavana unimportant
- lakoli' / lakolina flat
- bonu' / bonuna round
- legi' / legina true
- havu' / havuna uncultivated

All of these can be explained as resembling the short and the long form of class 1 nouns.

- fagi' yale the far-away people
- yale lavana the people are unimportant
- haga' dote'na tasty food
- hagana it is tasty
- eve hagana the sugarcane is tasty

Note: The adjectives havu' and lava' always follow the noun, also when they occur as attributive adjuncts in their short form.

The following adjectives occur with glottal stop also in their predicative form:

- eise' / eise'na small
- sole' / sole'na plenty
- isa' / isa'na good
- laniteni' / laniteni'na damp
- la' / la'na big

All of these can be explained as resembling the short forms of class 1 nouns with suffixed complenatal marker.

- sole' yale bei- d- a- e there were many people
- plenty people live-PAST-3.PL-IND
- yale sole'na bei- d- a- e there was a multitude of people
- people plenty live-PAST-3.PL-IND
Note: The word gata', which can be classified as an adjective on the basis of morphological features, and can be glossed as like, same, same way, has a distribution different from other adjectives. It occurs following noun-like words, usually connected with them by a clitic -ga/-ya, or after verb forms with -gese'.

agae-'a- ga gata' like himself
he- himself-ga like

pagae' p- ougota-ga gata-nope not like their image
their their-face- ga like-NEG
i- da su he- di- gese' gata' they all seem to have gone
go-3.PL finish-PAST- gese' like
laisi-ya gata'-na- e' it is like rice
rice- ya like- COMP-EQ

Some adjectives have been found only in the attributive form, but their occurrence with the complemental marker is likely:
yatala' long
legeso' unavailable
beleke' clear
yovo' level
yo'yo' light (weight)
yovo' yava a level piece of timber
level timber

There are adjectives which in their predicative form replace the complemental marker -na by -a:
bonu' yavana a round stone
round stone
gei bonu'-a va'yu no- 5-i- e the full moon is rising
moon round-COMP PROG- 3.SG-IND
appear
buki' yale all people
all people
yale buki'-a all people
people all- COMP

The adjective havana small occurs in its long form in attributive position, the predicative form is havana'a:
Note: havana could also be explained as following the pattern of class 2 nouns, with the syllable -na being part of the stem.

2.1.3.12 Class 2

Examples for adjectives following the noun class 2 pattern, are:

soko / sokona    good
feipa / feipana   bad
buko / bukona    warm
gata / gatana    heavy
hogo / hogona    short
hepa / hepana    bad
fotogo / fotogona good

The short forms can be explained as resembling class 2 nouns, and the long forms as resembling class 2 nouns with suffixed complemental marker.

hogo de    short man
short man

beite'na-ti hogona hanod i-e  our life is short
life- our short exist-PAST-3.SG-IND

Some adjectives have been found mainly in attributive form, but their occurrence with the complemental marker is possible:

souva    new
tava     old
ougegesa big
legepa   nice
lebe     zealous
hega     stubborn
yusa     quiet
valavala wet
lepo     lame
lopa     great
lusi     huge
hipu     cheeky
hou      dry
gâbe  uninhabited
fela  wild
degi  dumb
avú  ripe
avu ege  ripe banana
tava gae  old loincloth
lopá yale  the old people

The preglottalisation of the complemental marker with the long forms of the following adjectives cannot be explained:
eigava / eigava'na  new
oupa / oupa'na  short
fofo / fofo'na  good-smelling

2.1.3.13 Inflection of adjectives

Adjectives may occur with the connective particle, and with the equation marker when occurring as predicative adjunct.
a'i- na  ni' lava-  e'  that is ordinary water
that-COMP water ordinary- EQ

Locative markers occur with adjectives which then function as locational expressions:
yatala- to' ha no- d- i- e  it is at a high place
long- AD exist-PAST-3.SG-IND
fagi- togati' o- d- u- e  I have come from far away
far- AB come-PAST-1.SG-IND

The restrictive marker is suffixed in the allomorphic form -'ago' to the predicative form of the adjectives as intensifying morpheme:
havana-'ago'  just small 1.e. very small, very few
small  RE
hagana-'ago'  just tasty 1.e. very tasty
tasty- RE
sokona-'ago'  just good 1.e. very good
good- RE

Reduplication of adjective stems occurs seldom, if it does, it may express multiplicity:
many tiny seeds
fruit small small-COMP

2.1.3.2 Secondary adjectives derived from Nouns

Secondary adjectives are derivations from nouns or verbs, or locational or temporal expressions occurring as noun adjuncts. The secondary adjectives show morphological features observed with the primary adjectives: The short forms are either closed by a glottal stop, or end in an open syllable, the long forms, if they occur, carry the marker -na or -'na. That falls in line with the class pattern observed with the primary adjectives.

Adjectives derived from class 2 nouns, are mostly morphologically identical with them, adjectives derived from class 1 nouns, usually occur in the short form of such nouns. Infrequently, compounding of nouns or reduplication is used to derive adjectives (examples are found in the following sections).

The examples given in the following, are arranged in such a way, that the nouns from which the adjectives are derived, are listed on the right.29

General:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a'</th>
<th>female</th>
<th>ana</th>
<th>woman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beme'</td>
<td>soft</td>
<td>bemena</td>
<td>vegetables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vego</td>
<td>round (circle)</td>
<td>vego</td>
<td>surrounding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ve</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>ve</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hatu</td>
<td>bitter</td>
<td>hatuna</td>
<td>ginger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hatuova'/hatuova'na</td>
<td>bitter</td>
<td>hatuna</td>
<td>ginger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loki</td>
<td>firm</td>
<td>lokia</td>
<td>core of hardwood trunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youmi'</td>
<td>fertile</td>
<td>youmina</td>
<td>abandoned garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yahoumi'</td>
<td>fertile</td>
<td>yahoumina</td>
<td>abandoned garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yasi'</td>
<td>cold</td>
<td>yasi</td>
<td>wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ve gokolena</td>
<td>rooster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male chicken</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a' gayale</td>
<td>sow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female pig</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vego yona</td>
<td>round house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>round house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yasi' nina</td>
<td>cold water</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cold water</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29 Examples are found in the following sections.
A special form of derivation is -geva/ -keva big, which is derived from geva trunk, and occurs as a suffix.

**hansi-keva** great darkness

**night-great**

**Colour qualities:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Beme'igopa</th>
<th>Soft ground</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>egevu</strong></td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>egevu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gamolu</strong></td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>gamoluna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gamolu’ago</strong></td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>gadipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>golako’/golako’na</strong></td>
<td>red</td>
<td>golana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gituma’/gitumana</strong></td>
<td>red</td>
<td>gitumana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>okavu’/okavuna</strong></td>
<td>blue</td>
<td>species of plant for making blue dye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gokoni’aguina</strong></td>
<td>iridescent</td>
<td>gokonina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>falupan’ougota’ae’na</strong></td>
<td>blue-green</td>
<td>falupana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gumo</strong></td>
<td>brown</td>
<td>green, blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>eigavako’/eigava</strong></td>
<td>green</td>
<td>new</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>eigava sagava</strong></td>
<td>green</td>
<td>new</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>eigava talili</strong></td>
<td>green</td>
<td>new</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gavu haeya</strong></td>
<td>green</td>
<td>gavu haeya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yava haeya</strong></td>
<td>green</td>
<td>yava haeya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>háva</strong></td>
<td>pink</td>
<td>háva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>efe’</strong></td>
<td>white</td>
<td>efena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>vayevaye’/vayevayena</strong></td>
<td>white</td>
<td>vayavena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hani’hanina’/hani’hanina’na</strong></td>
<td>black</td>
<td>hanina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nupa</strong></td>
<td>black</td>
<td>nupa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>golako’ gae</strong></td>
<td>a red loincloth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>red loincloth</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ma- gae golako’na</strong></td>
<td>this loincloth is red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>this- loincloth red</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>okavu’ gaveda</strong></td>
<td>a blue string</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>blue string</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.3.3 Secondary Adjectives derived from Verbs

There are two groups of adjectives derived from verbs, the one consisting of the verb stem (sometimes compounded with another word, or reduplicated), the other one carrying the morpheme -te'. Examples are listed in the following sections.

General:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ado</td>
<td>blunt</td>
<td>to not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agasupa</td>
<td>blunt</td>
<td>to bypass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galogalo</td>
<td>loose</td>
<td>to break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hágó</td>
<td>kind</td>
<td>to feel well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hegoto'</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>to be in front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hogoto</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>to be in front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoasu'</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>to be not good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hu'asu'</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>to be not good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi</td>
<td>straight</td>
<td>to straighten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuluvei'</td>
<td>upright</td>
<td>to be upright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haga' asu'</td>
<td>tasteless</td>
<td>to be not tasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'hano'</td>
<td>unavailable</td>
<td>to not exist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- ado hagita a blunt knife
- agasupa luna a blunt axe
- hago de a kind man
hegoto' de  
first  man

hu'asu' tu  
a bad smell

hu'asu'na  
the smell is bad

pi de  
a straight man

haga' asu' ege  
a tasteless banana

tasteless    banana

Derivations with -te':

These derivations can theoretically be obtained from every verb. They have adjunctive as well as verbal functions, and are therefore treated briefly also in the verb section of the morphology, cf. 2.3.3.22.

The morpheme -te' has been termed "quality derivation marker". The derivations can often be glossed as participles -ing, -ed, or quality -able. Some derivations have assumed further meaning, e.g. lo- te' red.

cook-QD

Examples:  lo- te' / le- te'  cooked, cookable, red
cook-QD  cook-QD
do- te' / de- te'  edible, eating
eat-QD  eat- QD
bei- te'  living, alive
live-QD
filli-te'  mortal, dead
die- QD
havi-te'  knowing, intelligent
know-QD
hu- te' / hi- te'  saying, uttered
speak-QD  speak-QD

Note: Adjectives of this kind derived from verbs of classes 2 and 4, and from the irregular verbs of class 1, have two allomorphs, following the general ablaut rule with verb stems (cf. 2.3.1.1). More about that feature in 2.3.3.21 and 2.3.3.22.
A special feature of this kind of adjective is that they, in contrast to other, primary or noun-derived adjectives, can be negated by the verb negative prefix a'-, and thereby produce their own antonyms:

- adote' inedible
- afilite' immortal, not dead
- abeite' not alive, not here
- a'haveite' dumb

A special feature of this kind of adjective is that they, in contrast to other, primary or noun-derived adjectives, can be negated by the verb negative prefix a'-, and thereby produce their own antonyms:

- adote' yava tree with inedible fruit

inedible tree

ma- lo' abeite' yale the people which are not here
this-AD not living people

The predicative forms of these adjectives have invariably more noun character than the long or predicative forms of any other adjective dealt with so far. They have to be regarded as full class 2 nouns, and are dealt with under 2.1.2.12, cf. also 2.3.3.21.

### 2.1.3.4 Adjectives Identical with Locatives

This section deals with words which carry a locative marker, never occur without that marker, have a locational or temporal meaning, and often occupy the locational or temporal slot in a clause. They may, however, also occur as adjuncts like adjectives.

- lamaga right
- hoga left
- aveto' below
- toto' up
- vato' separated
- aeto' separated
- genaga long ago
- ge'vanaga long ago
- henaga afterwards
- hoga d- anita my left hand

left my-hand
aveto' gi-toga  on the lower path
below  path-AD
vato' de  a different man
separated man
gə'yavinaga yale  the former people, the people of long ago
long ago  people
henaga  yale  the future people
afterwards people

2.1.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives occur as free words, and as affixes. The free word forms are:
ma  ma'i  this  (with 1. person)
na  na'i  that  (with person addressed)
a' i  that  (with 3. person, or somewhere else)

The shorter form usually occurs without a noun:
ma  eli- o  take this!
this  take-IM SG
na  ag- o  look at that!
that  look-IM SG

The longer form occurs attributive with a noun:
ma'i nina  this water
this water
na'i gae  that loincloth
that loincloth
a'i bade  that boy
that boy

Interrogative markers occur usually with the short form:
má- vie  (is it) this?
this-INT
ná- vie  (is it) that?
that-INT

The equation marker may occur with the short form:
ma- e'  this is it
this-EQ
The connective particle in its allomorphic form -mo may occur with both the short and the long forms of the demonstratives:

má- mo and má'i-mo  this
this-CON  this-CON

ná- mo and ná'i-mo  that
that-CON  that-CON

\[ \text{á'i-mo} \]
that-CON

Locative suffixes may occur with both the short and the long forms:

má- lo', má- loga, má'i-lo', má'i-loga  here
this-AD  this-AD  this-AD  this-AD

ná- lo', ná- loga, ná'i-lo', ná'i-loga  there
that-AD  that-AD  that-AD  that-AD

\[ \text{á'i-lo', á'i-loga} \]
that-AD  that-AD

má- loti', má-logati', má'i-loti', má'i-logati'  from here
this-AB  this-AB  this-AB  this-AB

ná- loti', ná-logati', ná'i-loti', ná'i-logati'  from there
that-AB  that-AB  that-AB  that-AB

\[ \text{á'i-loti', á'i-logati'} \]
that-AB  that-AB

má- vi', má'i-vi'  in here
this-IN  this-IN

ná- vi', ná'i-vi'  in there
that-IN  that-IN

\[ \text{á'i-vi'} \]
that-IN

má- viti', má'i-viti'  out of here
this-EL  this-EL

ná- viti', ná'i-viti'  out of there
that-EL  that-EL

\[ \text{á'i-viti'} \]
that-EL
There are also forms like ma- gayaga, na- gayaga, ma- gayagati' 
    this-AD    that-AD    this-AB 
etc.

Demonstration affixes are usually prefixed to nouns, the two 
prefixes occur with two allomorphs each:

*ma-* preceding consonants  
*na-* preceding consonants  

The allomorphs *ma-* and *na-* are always unstressed or even reduced 
syllables, the allomorphs *m-* and *n-* become part of the first syllable 
of the word they are prefixed to.

*ma-* yáva  
_this-tree_  

*m-* ígopa  
_this-ground_  

*na-* gayále  
_that-pig_  

*n-* ége  
_that-banana_  

The demonstrative prefixes may occur with the verb *hu-* to form adverbial 
phrases, cf. 2.2.2.3.

Demonstrative prefixes may also be directly connected to the clitic 
*-bóna matter, thing, which behaves like a class 1 noun, occurring in 
short and long form, and with noun suffixes.

*ma-* bona dote'na-e'  
_this-matter food- EQ_  

*na-* bona dote'na-e'  
_that-matter food- EQ_  

*na-* bo'  
_that-matter_
Note: nabo' usually functions as a conjunction, and may be exchanged with nalo'.

na- bo- ba' \hspace{1em} \textit{that subj}
\textit{that-matter-PIV}

na- bo- se' \hspace{1em} \textit{therefore}
\textit{that-matter-BEN}

Furthermore, demonstrative prefixes may also be directly connected to the complemental marker which then takes the place of the noun to which the prefix is attached, and consequently takes on further noun suffixes.
(cf. examples nanama' and manaloti' under 2.1.2.1-6)

2.1.5 Locationals

There are noun-like words which always occur with a locative suffix, and nouns which assume a special meaning when occurring with a locative suffix.

Examples:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
einaga & \textit{in the heart} \\
vato' & \textit{separated} \\
vatoga & \textit{at another place} \\
hitagipi' & \textit{underneath} \\
lupenaga & \textit{underneath} \\
aveto' & \textit{down} \\
avetoga & \textit{below} \\
toto' & \textit{up} \\
totoga & \textit{above} \\
agovetulo' & \textit{on top} \\
agovetuvi' & \textit{on top} \\
gametulo' & \textit{on top of} \\
gametuvavalo' & \textit{above, over} \\
mega & \textit{on the surface} \\
\end{tabular}

The adjectives vato', aveto', and toto' have been listed here again as examples for words which do not occur other than with locative marker. Nevertheless, those words are functionally adjectives. As becomes evident by the forms vatoga, avetoga, totoga, the locational morpheme -ga has to be suffixed in addition to the adessive suffix (or, the expanded form of the adessive suffix has to be substituted for the short form) in order to turn the adjective into a locational word which can occupy the locational slot in a clause.

toto' gina \hspace{1em} \textit{the upper path}

up \hspace{1em} \textit{path}
Demonstratives with locative suffixes are described under 2.1.4. Mention should be made of the expanded form makaloga here, which infrequently occurs synonymously with the forms malo', ma'ilo', maloga, and ma'iloga.

Other locational words which infrequently take substantive affixes are:

- **bega**  
  *over there, up there*

- **biga**  
  *over there, up there*

- **buga**  
  *over there*

These words, which carry a locational morpheme already, have a locational meaning by themselves. Locative suffixing, however, occurs with these if a speaker wants to express that someone or something is located at or in a position "over there", and even ablative and elative suffixes may occur with these words.

- **buga-**  
  *lo' (at the place) over there*
  
  **over there-AD**

- **buga-**  
  *vi' (in that) over there*
  
  **over there-IN**

- **buga-**  
  *viti' out of over there*
  
  **over there-EL**

- **buga-**  
  *gayaga (at the place, in the direction) over there*
  
  **over there-AD**

Of other noun suffixes, the benefactive marker in its allomorphic form -se' (no explanation can be given for that form after an open syllable, cf. 2.1.2.4) occurs infrequently with any of these words.

- **buga-**  
  *se' with regard to over there*
  
  **over there- BEN**

Another set of locational words is:

- **ema**  
  *there, down there*

- **ima**  
  *there*

- **uma**  
  *there*

These three words, although not carrying a locational morpheme of any kind, have a locational meaning in themselves. They may occur attributive with nouns, like demonstratives.
All three may carry locative suffixes when occupying the locational slot of a clause.

I put it there

he went down there

2.1.6 Interrogatives

(For the interrogative suffixes occurring in yes-no-questions, cf. 2.3.2.4).

The interrogative pronoun is nala' / nala'a who?

The longer form which could be explained as carrying the personal pronoun suffix of the 3. person singular, occurs much more frequently than the short form. Most suffixing occurs with the long form.

who is coming?

who is coming?

whose pig?

whose pig?

whose pig?

whom are they talking about?

whom are they talking about?

with whom?

at whom?

The interrogative adjective with animates and inanimates is heipa' / heipa'a which, what.
heipa' de  which man?
heipa' yava  which tree?
heipa' yopi'  in which house?
heipa' ganave  at what time? when?
heipa' vitane  at what time? when?
heipa' gava'  in which way? how?

Locational and benefactive markers are suffixed to the interrogative adjective for locational interrogations:

heipa'a-e'  where?
which- BEN
heipa-to'  where
which-AD
heipa-to-ne  where?
which-AD-?  (-ne is possibly a complemental marker)
heipa'a-lo'  where?
which- AD
heipa'a-loga  where?
which- AD
heipa-toti'  where from?
which-AB
heipa'a-loti'  where from?
which- AB
heipa'a-vi'  where in?
which- IN
heipa'a-viti'  out of where?
which- EL

An interrogation particle is da- / da'a- what, which which occurs prefixed to nouns expressing time or quality, or directly connected with the complemental marker -na.

da- kana-vi'  what time? when
which-time-IN
da'- vitane  what time? when?
which-at time
da'- ouva  what kind? how?
which-likeness
which-likeness kind
da' - ouva - na  what? which?
which- likeness-COMP

da- kana-vi' u- g- un- e when shall we go?
which-time-IN go-FUT-1.PL-IND

da' - ouva ge hu- g- u- e what shall I say?
which- likeness word speak-FUT-1.SG.-IND

da' - ouva gava' hu-g- u- e what shall I do?
which- likeness kind do-FUT-1.SG-IND

da'a- na- e' no- s- i- e what is he talking about?
which-COMP-BEN PROG-speak-3.SG-IND

da' - ouva- na- e' ne- s- a- e what are they talking
which- likeness- COMP-BEN PROG-speak-3.PL-IND about?

Interrogation words in which the morpheme da' - / da'a - is
inseparably linked with other morphemes which do not occur in isolation
or other environments, are:

da'avune  how? what?


ne- s- a- e  what are they saying?
dabegi'  how much? how many?
dabegine  how much? how many?
daki'  how much? how many?
dakine  how much? how many?

dabegi' and daki' occur in attributive, dabegine and dakine in
predicative position:

daki'  yale ne'- a- e how many people are coming?
how many people PROG-come 3.PL-IND

yale  dakine how many people
people how many

dabegi'  yo' hano- d- i- e how many houses are there?
how many house exist-PAST-3.SG-IND

yava dabegine  how many trees?
tree how many

da'begine  how much (is it)?
2.1.7 Numerals

The number system works with two basic number words, *one* and *two*, which have both substantive character, and may occur with substantive suffixes.

*bogo*  
*one, some, a, another* (this word, besides meaning *one*, can stand for the indefinite article, or a not precisely defined number)

*bogo* may occur with pivotal, comitative, and locative markers:

`ve bogo-ma' hu- d- i- e`  
*one man said*

`man one- PIV speak-PAST-3.SG-IND`

`bogo-ma' hu- d- i- e`  
*one said*

`one- PIV speak-PAST-3.SG-IND`

`ve bogo-ma' bade`  
*the son of another man*

`man one- PIV boy`

`yege bogo-vi'`  
*on another day*

`sun one- IN`

`bogo-'e'`  
*once more*

`one- COM`

`bogo-kayaga`  
*on one side*

`one- AD`

*bogo* may also occur with the restrictive marker in allomorphic form -*ko'* which cannot be explained (in the same way as the above -*gayaga* instead of the expected -*gayaga*). When occurring with the restrictive marker, it is the definite number word:

`bogo-ko'`  
*one, just one*

`one- RE`

Other suffixes may follow after the restrictive marker, e.g.

`yo' bogo-ko-se' hu- d- u- e`  
*I spoke just about one house*

`house one- RE-BEN speak PAST-1.SG-IND`

*lole* two very frequently occurs with the restrictive marker without any change of the meaning: *loleko'* two.

`ve lole`  
*two men*

`man two`

`ve lole-ko'`  
*two men*

`man two- RE`
Suffixes may occur with both forms:

yege lole-"vi' during two days
sun two- IN

yava lole-ko-se' hi- d- a- e the talked about two trees
tree two- RE-BEN speak-PAST-3.SG-IND

Number words always follow the noun of which they express the quantity:

ve bogo a man, another man
man one

ve bogo-ko' one man
man one- RE

yale bogo some people
people one

yo' bogo-ko' hano- d- i- e there is only one house
house one- RE exist-PAST-1.SG-IND

yo' bogo-"vi' bei- d- i- e he lives in another house
house one- IN live-PAST-3.SG-IND

The phrases d- anita bogo-ko' my one hand
my-hand one- RE
and d- anita bogo-kayaga'a my hand on one side
my hand one- AD finish-3.SG one- AD PROG IND
are used to express the number five. All other numbers are combinations of one, two, and five. Sums of five are expressed by sums of hands and feet. When counting, fingers and toes are used, starting at the little finger, and bending the fingers in as counting proceeds.

lole-"e' bogo-"e' three
two- COM one- COM

lole-"e' lole-"e' four
two two- COM

d- anita bogo-kayaga su ho- na bogo-kayaga laka' no- s- e six
my-hand one- AD finish-3.SG one- AD go across 3.SG-

my-hand one- AB one- RE
d- anita bogo-kayagi' lole seven
my-hand one- AB two

d- anita bogo-kayagi' lole-'e' bogo-'e' eight
my-hand one- AB two- COM one- COM

d- anita bogo-kayagi' lole-'e' lole-'e' nine
my-hand one- AB two- COM two- COM

d- anita lole ten
my-hand two

d- anita su ho- na d- eiya-logati' bogo-ko' eleven
my-hand finish-3.SG my-foot-AB one RE
or d- anita su ho- na d- eiya-logati' bogo eleven
my-hand finish-3.SG my-foot-AB one

d- anita su ho- na d- eiya-logati' lole twelve
my-hand finish-3.SG my-foot-AB two

d- anita su ho- na d- eiya-logati' lole-'e' bogo-'e' thirteen
my-hand finish-3.SG my-foot-AB two- COM one- COM

d- anita su ho- na d- eiya-logati' lole-'e' lole-'e' fourteen
my-hand finish-3.SG my-foot-AB two- COM two- COM

d- anita su ho- na d- eiya bogo-kayaga'a fifteen
my-hand finish-3.SG my-foot one- AD

d- anita su ho- na d- eiya bogo-kayagati' bogo-ko' sixteen
my-hand finish-3.SG my-foot one- AB one- RE

d- anita su ho- na d- eiya bogo-kayagi' lole seventeen
my-hand finish-3.SG my-foot one- AB two

d- anita su ho- na d- eiya bogo-kayagi' lole-'e' bogo-'e' eighteen
my-hand finish-3.SG my-foot one- AB two- COM one COM

d- anita su ho- na d- eiya bogo-kayagi' lole-'e' lole-'e' nineteen
my-hand finish-3.SG my-foot one- AB two- COM two- COM

d- eiya d- anita su no- s- e twenty
my-foot my-hand PROG- IND finish 3.SG-

d- eiya d- anita buki'a twenty
my-foot my-hand all
Forty may be expressed by saying

ve lole t- eiya t- anita su no- s- e
man two their dl-foot their dl-hand PROG- IND

finish 3.SG-

Nowadays, only old people still use the number system extensively. The system has generally been replaced by the English numbers (through Pidgin, but usually without the morpheme -pela), and in general it can be said that only numbers up to five may be expressed in the old way.

Note: When using English numbers, they usually follow the noun as in the old system:

bade faefu or bade faefu'a five boys

But if sometimes number words occur in their Pidgin form, they precede the noun as in Pidgin:

faepela bade five boys

Some adjectives serve to express quantities, and then usually occur in predicative form following the noun:

loguva few or three
buki' all
sole' many
ana loguva'a three women
yale buki'a all people
yale sole'a many people

The adjectives hogoto', hegoto' and henaga' serve to express ordinal number qualities first and last. They occur preceding the noun.

hogoto' bade the first boy
henaga bade the last boy

2.2 MODIFIERS

This section includes such words which are not verbs, and also do not occur with noun markers, and can therefore not be classified as substantives.

2.2.1 Exclamations

These may just occur in isolation, i.e. in exclamation sentences. Some of them may be compounded with an auxiliary verb. They could therefore be regarded as verb adjuncts, but because of their occurrence
in isolation, they are dealt with in this section.

2.2.1.1 Assent and Dissent

Assent or agreement is expressed by the exclamation word he yes.
also: he hu- to say yes, to agree

ē- hap- ei- ga-ni he hu- d- i- e when he told him, he agreed
him-tell-3.SG-NI-he yes say-PAST-3.SG-IND

Dissent or disagreement is expressed by the exclamation words
e'e, o'e, and a'ao no.
e'e is the most frequently occurring one.
also: e'e hu- to say no, to disagree, to decline

2.2.1.2 Other exclamations

Quite a number of exclamation words have been recorded, most of
which cannot be glossed, but only transcribed with a certain state of
emotion. The following list is not supposed to be exhaustive.

Surprise:
áyo
vae
ého

Excitement:
ovúo
ahiíe

Seeking contact:
akú

Relief:
usó
daháge

Alert:
éhe

Satisfaction or joy:
lamago'
lamagonae'

Urgency:
ahií
also: ahií ao- to yell, to scream

The expressions namavao and navao usually occur after a verb
suffixed with the pivotal marker:
agae a e- s- i- ma' navao he should come!
he come-IFUT-3.SG-PIV navao
Shout at pig festival to greet guests:        atipú  
(the last syllable has a high pitch)

Imitation of animal voices:

Barking:     bou'
           boubou'

Birds' cry:  valií

2.2.2 Adverbs

There is a group of adverbs which never occur like adjectives as 
attributive noun adjuncts, nor are they compounded for their adverbial 
use together with an auxiliary verb. Examples are:

aomo aomo      carefully
aomo aomo no'- u- e    I am walking carefully
            PROG-go 1.SG-IND

aoto'            alone

ve bogo yo- 'a- lo' aoto' bei- d- i- e    a man lives alone at his
man one house-his-AD alone live-PAST-3.SG-IND house

(This adverb may occur with a person marker:

d-aoto' bei- d- u- e     I live by myself)

I-alone live-PAST-1.SG-IND

gesi'            secretly
dagaea gesi' hoya- viti' gile' eli- d- u- e
I secretly garden-EL corn take-PAST-1.SG-IND

I took corn secretly from the garden

hae              immediately

h- hap- ei- ga-ni hae        havi-d- i- e
him-tell-3.SG-NI-he immediately know-PAST-3.SG-IND

he told him, and he understood immediately

vese vese      slowly

vese vese u- o    walk slowly!
slowly go- IM SG
valu' unsheltered
valu' hao- d- un- e we slept in the open
unsheltered sleep-PAST-1.PL-IND
yupa' without eating
yupa' hao- d- un- e we slept with empty stomach
without eating sleep-PAST-1.PL-IND
yoka' temporarily
yala pagaea ma- lo' yoka' bei- d- a- e the people live
people they this-AD temporarily live-PAST-3.PL-IND here temporarily
ago' already
ba'ke-ka- ma' ago' gamao- d- i- e your son has already
boy- your-PIV already recover-PAST-3.SG-IND recovered
ago' fili-d- i- e he had already died
already die- PAST-3.SG-IND

2.2.2.1 Temporal Adverbs

The following words have a temporal meaning, and occur in the
temporal slot of clauses without any further affixation:
gotifati early in the morning
hemeti now, today
vita' at a time, at a date
vitane at a time, at a date
vituta' at a time, at a date
nevita' at that time
a'i vita' at that time
dete' in the morning
ute' in the evening
fega at daytime, during the day
ega one day from now (yesterday/tomorrow)
olega two days from now (on the day before yesterday,
on the day after tomorrow)
hani' fologu' at midnight

2.2.2.2 Adjective-derived Adverbs

Morphologically, many adverbs are the same as adjectives. They
occur in modified verb phrases, in most cases together with the auxiliary
verb hu- (cf. 2.2.2.3 and 3.1.2.12).

Only a few may occur without the auxiliary verb, and they may then occur with the suffix - a (which could be explained as a complemental marker).

havā'a just so, without reason
(from havā'/havana unimportant)

hava'a no'- o- e I am coming without reason
without reason PROG- come 1.SG-IND

2.2.2.3 Adverbial phrases

Many adverbial phrases consist of an adverb plus the auxiliary verb hu- (cf. 2.2.2.2). If glossing is attempted, that auxiliary verb could in these phrases be glossed as do. Adverbially used are also forms of the verb hu- with a prefixed demonstrative. The auxiliary verb in these phrases usually occurs in a medial form with identical subject. (cf. syntax, 3.1.2.12)

Examples:
belege hu-na o- d- i- e he came quickly
quickly do-3.SG come-PAST-3.SG-IND

legepa hu-ka hu- o speak loudly!
big do-2.SG say-IM

na- hu-na hu-lo- na yo- pi' hei- d- i- e that-do-3.SG do-CPL-3.SG house-IN go up-PAST-3.SG-IND
after he had done that, he went into the house

ma- hu-na hu-na hoya eli- d- i- e he did the work thus
this-do-3.SG do-3.SG work make-PAST-3.SG-IND

yale- magi hulo halo hi-da gi' ae- d- a- e the people walked
people-PL slowly do-3.PL path step-PAST-3.PL-IND the path slowly

aeto' hu-ka bol-o put it by itself!
separated do 2.SG put-IM

The adverb visolo' quickly occurs with ei- as an auxiliary verb:

visolo' ei- ka e- no come quickly!
quickly hit-2.SG come-IM
2.2.3 Conjunctions

For the conjunctional use of the noun suffixes -'e', -'ese', and -gi, cf. 2.1.2.7, for the conjunctional use of -vi / -pi cf. 2.3.2.42, and for the conjunctional use of demonstrationals plus motivational marker, cf. 2.1.4.

The most frequently occurring conjunction, though, is the free form word nagi and then which is used to link a new sentence to a preceding one. (cf. 3.3.2.1)

The clitic -ga / -ya serves as a conjunction in comparison phrases with the adjective gata' like. (cf. 3.1.1.33) The allomorphs of this clitic are distributed as follows:

-ya occurs after front vowels,
-ga occurs after non-front vowels.

agae-'a- ga gata' like himself
he- himself-ga like
pagae' p- ougota-ga gata' in their likeness
their their-face- ga like
laisi-ya gata'-na- e' it is like rice
rice- ya like- COMP-EQ

2.3 VERBS

2.3.1 Definitions

There are four different verb classes or conjugations in Yagaria. The classes have been established on the basis of formal criteria, i.e. the contrast of verb stem vowels.

Verbs of all four classes contrast in structure and occurrence as independent and dependent forms. Independent verbs (2.3.2), termed "final" verb forms, occur in isolated clauses and in the final clause of sentences. Dependent verbs (2.3.3) occur in any but the last clause of sentences, and never in isolated clauses. The most frequently occurring dependent verbs, in fact the most frequently occurring verb forms at all, especially in narratives, are the "medial" verb forms (2.3.3.1).

There are intransitive and transitive verbs in all four classes.

There is only a limited number of what could be termed "simple" verbs. The majority of verbs are compounds such as are found in other Non-Austronesian languages of the New Guinea Highlands. There are, however, different ways of compounding verbs. (cf. 2.3.1.4 and 2.3.5)
The inflection of the verbs, though complex, is quite regular, but there are four verbs (plus, of course, compounds of which they are a part) which show irregularity in their inflection. They are described under 2.3.6.

Because in Yagaria there is no "neutral" form which could be regarded as a kind of "infinitive", verbs are in this grammar and in the dictionary cited with their stems, i.e. the stem allomorph as it occurs in the 3. person singular in the past tense (morpheme segmentation is too difficult in the present tense, cf. 2.3.2.21).

2.3.1.1 Classes

Verbs of the four classes contrast with each other in the last vowel of their stem. (There are indications that Yagaria originally may have had only monosyllabic verb stems, and the polysyllabic stems are the result of intense verb compounding, cf. 2.3.5.4).

The contrasts of the verb stem vowels are:

- high versus low, and
- single versus glide.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>ei</th>
<th>ou</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>ao</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following the above chart, allomorphic stem changes occur in the classes as follows:

- class 1:  
  - i - u
- class 2:  
  - e - o
- class 3:  
  - ei - ou
- class 4:  
  - ae - ao

Thus, every verb stem occurs with at least two allomorphs. The general rule of such "ablaut" (which does, however, not hold good for the present tense, cf. 2.3.2.21.1) is that back vowel allomorphs occur with all singular persons, and with the first person dual and plural, whereas front vowel allomorphs occur with the second and third person dual and plural. This distribution is shown in the following chart:
This rule of allomorphic changes of the verb stem is referred to in this grammar as the "general ablaut rule".\textsuperscript{31}

Theoretically, every verb has two stem allomorphs, in practice, however, because of vowel assimilations, more than two allomorphs occur with every verb. Up to six allomorphs have been counted.

Class 1 and class 3 verbs have much in common, and so have class 2 and class 4 verbs. The PN markers of class 1 and class 3 are basically identical, and so are the markers of class 2 and class 4. Class 4 could even be treated as a sub-class of class 2, but for symmetrical reasons, and because the other glide stem verbs constitute a separate class, and because of easier identification of verbs with monosyllabic stems, class 4 is treated separately.

2.3.1.2 Final and medial verbs

Final or independent verb forms are inflected with regard to tense, subject and mood, and may be inflected with regard to aspect. They occupy the verb slot in isolated clauses and in sentence-final clauses, and do not occur in any non-sentence-final position. For final verb forms, cf. 2.3.2.

Medial verb forms depend in their occurrence on at least two clauses, and may occupy the verb slot of all but the last clause of a sentence. If the subject is identical in two subsequent clauses, the medial verb form of the preceding clause is inflected with regard to subject, and may be inflected with regard to aspect. If the subject changes, the medial verb form of the preceding clause is inflected with regard to preceding subject, tense or aspect, changing of the subject, and the following subject. For medial verb forms, cf. 2.3.3.1.

2.3.1.3 Transitive and intransitive verbs

Transitive and intransitive verbs contrast in occurrence, and may
contrast in form.

Intransitive verbs occur in the verb slot of intransitive clauses, transitive verbs occur in the verb slot of transitive clauses.

Transitive verbs (with some exceptions) may take object prefixes, i.e. short forms of personal pronouns as described in 2.1.1.22. Those transitive verbs which cannot be prefixed, may be followed by the verb to-put carrying the object prefix.

Transitive verbs may be derived from intransitive verbs by compounding with other verbs. (cf. 2.3.4.11)

Because of the additional morphological features of the transitive verbs, they are dealt with in a special section of this grammar, 2.3.4. For intransitive verbs, no extra morphological description is necessary.

2.3.1.4 Simple and compound verbs

Simple verbs consist of just one word, the verb stem with its affixes.

There are different kinds of compound verbs. The most common kind is that consisting of a verb adjunct preceding an auxiliary verb. The adjunct, sometimes occurring with a prefixed personal marker indicating object, or, less frequently, subject, but otherwise without any inflection markers, carries the meaning of the compound. Adjuncts of this kind may be nouns or adjectives, or may be limited in their occurrence to these verb structures. The auxiliary verb is a fully inflected verb form, usually following the adjunct, quite often deprived completely of its original meaning, and with no meaning left, but just acting as the carrier of the verbal functions of the compound.

Another kind of compound verb is the verb-verb compound, also termed a close-knit verb phrase (cf. 2.3.5.2 and 3.1.2.2), consisting of two or more verbs succeeding each other. Prefixation of a personal marker (subject or object) may occur with one or more of such verb stems, and all of the verbs constituting a compound, have to be inflected. In an isolated or sentence-final clause, the last verb assumes final form, all preceding verbs assume medial form for identical subject. Usually such compounds are formally indiscernible from clause sequences, but differ semantically and in their negative (cf. 3.1.2.2).

Direct compounding of stems (verb-verb compounds in which the first verb is unaffixed) are very rare, and occurs virtually only with the verbs bolo- to put (inanimates) and to- to put (animates) as the second verb of the compound (such compounds are stress units, and therefore have to be regarded as single words).
Complex compound verbs are combinations of the two kinds just described.

2.3.1.5 Negation

Any verb form may be negated. The negative marker is a'- prefixed to the verb stem. In case of an object marker prefixed to a negated verb, the negative prefix precedes the object marker. In case of the progressive aspect marker prefixed to the negated verb, the aspect marker precedes the negative marker.

+ ASP + NEG + OBJ + VB

Examples:

\( a'- ag-e \)  \( he \ does \ not \ see \)
\( NEG\text{-}see \) 3.SG-IND

\( no'- a'- ag-e \)  \( he \ is \ not \ seeing \)
\( PROG\text{-}NEG\text{-}see \) 3.SG-IND

\( no'- a'- il-ag-e \)  \( he \ is \ not \ seeing \ us \)
\( PROG\text{-}NEG\text{-}us\text{-}see \) 3.SG-IND

The allomorphic form a- of the negative marker occurs, according to the morphophonemic rules, before k, p, t, f, and s, and also preceding b and d, which are phonetically preglottalised in this environment.

Occurring with the irregular verbs hu- / hi- and ho- / he-, the negative marker causes the change of h to s.

\( ge \ hu-d-u-e \)  \( I \ spoke \)
\( word \ say\text{-}PAST-1.SG-IND \)

\( ge \ a-su-d-u-e \)  \( I \ did \ not \ speak \)
\( word \ NEG\text{-}say\text{-}PAST-1.SG-IND \)

\( ho-d-i-e \)  \( he \ hit \)
\( hit\text{-}PAST-3.SG-IND \)

\( a-so-d-i-e \)  \( he \ did \ not \ hit \)
\( NEG\text{-}hit\text{-}PAST-3.SG-IND \)

Occurring with verb stems having more than one non-reduced syllable, the negative marker is infixed into the verb stem preceding the last stem syllable.

\( hevi-d-u-e \)  \( I \ fetched \)
\( fetch\text{-}PAST-1.SG-IND \)
A rare structure of negation occurs with the verb-stem like morpheme -ako- / -ake- which is suffixed to the verb stem to be negated, and may be glossed as not doing.

eli- ak- e
take-not doing-3.SG IND

6- ami- ako- na
him-give-not doing-3.SG

2.3.2 Independent verbs

This section deals with all the verb forms termed "independent" or "final" in 2.3.1.2. They occur in isolated clauses, or in the last clause of a sentence. Though in a sentence their occurrence does not depend on any other preceding clauses, they cannot occur in any but the final clause.

All final verbs are inflected for subject, mood, and tense, and may be inflected for aspect in the present tense. Though in dual and plural number the subject markers contrast only as ego and non-ego, the paradigms in this grammar list the second and third persons dual and plural separately, since the language distinguishes clearly between those persons by the separate forms of the pronouns (cf. 2.1.1.1), and, depending on them, the medial verb distinguishes between those persons also (cf. 2.3.3.1).

The order of morphemes in final verbs is:

\[ \text{+ ASP + NEG + OBJ + VBS + T + PN + M} \]

2.3.2.1 Mood, tense, aspect: Definitions

The final verb may occur in any of four moods: Indicative, Interrogative, Emphatic, and Imperative. Indicative, interrogative, and emphatic mood are denoted by suffixes which occur in the mood slot which is always the very last slot in a final verb form. Imperative mood has no mood marker, but is indicated by the imperative PN markers.

There are four tenses: Present, Past, Intentional Future, and Future. The tense markers occupy the tense marker slot, occurring in suffixation to the verb stem.
The two future tenses are unchallenged as tenses, but with regard to present and past, it would be also possible to term them as "aspects". The present, for instance, as "historic present", may relate actions which took place in the past, e.g. in a narrative, and then the present tense forms express a kind of incomplete aspect. The past, on the other hand, may, as "perfective aspect", describe completed actions taking place now, e.g. he has sat down, i.e. he is sitting or living now, he has taken something, i.e. he is holding it now. In such instances, however, the time and the aspect factors are closely linked, and the time references are always included in the verb. Morphologically, the fact is that the past tense marker occupies the same tense marker slot as the future tense markers, and the present tense morpheme is zero, whereas the aspect marker for the progressive aspect occupies a different slot.

The only true aspect marker with the final verb is the progressive aspect marker, occurring only with the present tense, and occupying the aspect slot, prefixed to the verb stem.

2.3.2.2 Indicatives

The order of morphemes in indicatives is:

+ ASP + NEG + OBJ + VBS + T + PN + IND

The indicative mood marker is -e. It occurs in the mood marker slot following the subject person-number marker.

2.3.2.21 Present tense

The present tense marker is zero, the person-number markers are suffixed directly to the verb stem. The person-number markers occur in slightly different forms with verbs of the various classes.

The present tense has two aspects: neutral, and progressive.

2.3.2.21.1 Present tense, neutral aspect

This aspect relates actions in the present, or, as "historic present", actions which took place in the past.

In the present tense, verb stem allomorphs occur which are different from the "regular" allomorphs occurring in other tenses. As the stem vowel and the vowel of the subject PN marker are assimilated, stem allomorphs occur which end in a consonant.

For instance, the verbs used for the paradigms in the following, are to be regarded as having all consonant-closed stem allomorphs in the
present tense if a segmentation of the verb stem morphemes and the PN morphemes of the present tense forms is attempted:

hav- < havu- / havi- to hear
ful- / fil- < fulu- / fili- to die
ol- / el- < olu- / eli- to take
d- < do- / de- to eat
bol- / bel- / bal- < bolo- / bele- to put
b- < bou- / bei- to live
h- < hao- / hae- to shoot

The underlying stem allomorphs, listed at the right side of the < signs above, have a distribution which does not follow the general ablaut rule described in 2.3.1.1. For the present tense, a separate ablaut rule has to be stated, afterwards referred to as "present tense ablaut rule":

Back vowel allomorphs occur with first person forms, whereas front vowel allomorphs occur with non-first-person forms.

The present tense ablaut rule is depicted in this chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DL</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following, the person-number markers for the different classes are shown:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>-u-</td>
<td>-u' -</td>
<td>-un-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-in-</td>
<td>-i'  -</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>-i-</td>
<td>-i'  -</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>-o-</td>
<td>-o'  -</td>
<td>-on-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-an-</td>
<td>-a'  -</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>-a-</td>
<td>-a'  -</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The process of vowel assimilation which leads to the actual present tense verb forms, has to be assumed to take place as follows (one example for each class is given, and the indicative mood marker is suffixed to the PN markers):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 3</td>
<td>1. -ou-</td>
<td>-ou'-</td>
<td>-oun-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. -ein-</td>
<td>-ei'-</td>
<td>-ei-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. -ei-</td>
<td>-ei'-</td>
<td>-ei-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 4</td>
<td>1. -ao-</td>
<td>-ao'-</td>
<td>-aon-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. -an-</td>
<td>-a'-</td>
<td>-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. -a-</td>
<td>-a'</td>
<td>-a-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class 1

Singular 1. havu- + ue > havuue > havue
2. havi- + ine > haviine > havine
3. havi- + ie > haviie > havie
Dual 1. havu- + u'e > havuu'e > havu'e
2. havi- + i'e > havi'i'e > havi'e
3. havi- + i'e > havi'i'e > havi'e
Plural 1. havu- + une > havuune > havune
2. havi- + ie > haviie > havie
3. havi- + ie > haviie > havie

Class 2

Singular 1. do- + oe > dooe > doe
2. de- + ane > deane > dane
3. de- + oe > dee > de
Dual 1. do- + o'e > doo'e > do'e
2. de- + a'e > dea'e > da'e
3. de- + a'e > dea'e > da'e
Plural 1. do- + one > doone > done
2. de- + ae > deae > dae
3. de- + ae > deae > dae

Class 3

Singular 1. bou- + ue > bouue > boue
2. bei- + ine > beiine > beine
3. bei- + ie > beiie > beie
Dual 1. bou- + u'e > bouu'e > bou'e
2. bei- + i'e > bei'i'e > bei'e
3. bei- + i'e > bei'i'e > bei'e
Plural 1. bou- + une > bouune > boune
2. bei- + ie > beiie > beie
3. bei- + ie > beiie > beie
Class 4

Singular
1. hao- + oe > haoe > haoe
2. hae- + ane > haeane > hane > hane
3. hae- + oe > haeo > hae

Dual
1. hao- + o'e > haooe > hao'e
2. hae- + a'e > haea'e > hae'e > ha'e
3. hae- + a'e > haea'e > hae'e > ha'e

Plural
1. hao- + one > haoone > haone
2. hae- + ae > haeae > hae > hae
3. hae- + ae > haeae > hae > hae

In the process of vowel assimilation, verb stem and PN marker, and in some forms even the mood marker, have become so inseparably connected that the identification of morphemes, if not altogether impossible, is at least very difficult.

The following paradigms may serve for a systematic review of the present tense forms in the four classes:

Class 1

havi-  
to hear, to listen, to know, to perceive (the first stem syllable is reduced, the central vowel remains the same in all forms)

Singualar  Dual  Plural

1. havue  havu'e  havue
2. havine  havi'e  havie
3. havie  havi'e  havie

fili-  
to die (the first syllable is reduced, and vowel harmony occurs between the two stem syllables)

1. fulue  fulu'e  fulu'e
2. filine  fili'e  filie
3. filie  fili'e  filie

elei-  
to take (the first syllable is reduced, and the allomorphic change from back to front vowel occurs independently, but parallel, for the high and mid vowels)

1. olu'e  olu'e  olu'e
2. eline  eli'e  elie
3. elie  eli'e  elie

Class 2

do-  
to eat

1. doe  do'e  done
2. dane  da'e  dae
3. de  da'e  dae
bolo- to put (the first syllable is reduced, and vowel harmony occurs between the two stem syllables)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>bolo'e</td>
<td>bolo'e</td>
<td>bolone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bala'e</td>
<td>bala'e</td>
<td>bala'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>bala'e</td>
<td>bala'e</td>
<td>bala'e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class 3 be- to live

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>bou'e</td>
<td>bou'e</td>
<td>boune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bei'e</td>
<td>beie</td>
<td>beie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>beie</td>
<td>beie</td>
<td>beie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class 4 hao- to shoot

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>hao'e</td>
<td>hao'e</td>
<td>haone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ha'e</td>
<td>ha'e</td>
<td>hae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ha'e</td>
<td>ha'e</td>
<td>hae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2.21.2 Present tense, progressive aspect

This aspect describes actions which are now going on, or which habitually or customarily take place. Because of the two usages, present progressive verb forms carry a certain amount of ambiguity:

*ba no- d- on- e* can mean: *we are eating sweet potatoes*  
 sweet potatoe PROG-eat-1.PL-IND  
 now  
or: *we usually eat sweet potatoes*

Present progressive differs morphologically from the neutral present in the progressive aspect morpheme no'- / ne'- prefixed to the verb stem. The allomorphic change of this morpheme follows the general ablaut rule described in 2.3.1.1. That suggests that the aspect marker may have been originally a verb stem of a class 2 verb (it may have been derived from the verb hano- to be, to exist).

Distribution of progressive aspect marker allomorphs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>no'-</td>
<td>no'-</td>
<td>no'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>no'-</td>
<td>ne'-</td>
<td>ne'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>no'-</td>
<td>ne'-</td>
<td>ne'-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The progressive aspect marker has yet another set of allomorphs with open syllables. According to the morphophonemic rules, those allomorphs occur preceding verb stems with initial p, t, ( ' + g >) k f, and s, and also occur preceding b- and d- initial verb stems, since
b and d become phonetically preglottalized in this environment.

Occurring with polysyllabic verb stems which have more than one non-reduced syllable, the progressive aspect marker is infixed into the verb stem, and precedes the last syllable of the stem. (cf. the verbs hévi-, háto-, hávei-, and hábao- in the paradigms)

Present progressive paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haví-</td>
<td>to know, to listen, to hear, to perceive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>no'havue</td>
<td>no'havu'e</td>
<td>no'havune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>no'havine</td>
<td>ne'havi'e</td>
<td>ne'havie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>no'havie</td>
<td>ne'havi'e</td>
<td>ne'havie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hëvi-</td>
<td>to fetch, to scoop up</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>heno'vüe</td>
<td>heno'vu'e</td>
<td>heno'vüne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>heno'vine</td>
<td>hene'vi'e</td>
<td>hene'vie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>heno'vie</td>
<td>hene'vi'e</td>
<td>hene'vie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>filí-</td>
<td>to die</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>no'fulüe</td>
<td>nofulü'e</td>
<td>nofulüne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>no'filüne</td>
<td>nefilü'e</td>
<td>nefilüe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>no'filüe</td>
<td>nefilü'e</td>
<td>nefilüe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elí-</td>
<td>to take</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>no'olüe</td>
<td>no'olü'e</td>
<td>no'olüne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>no'elüne</td>
<td>ne'elüe</td>
<td>ne'elüe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>no'elüe</td>
<td>ne'elüe</td>
<td>ne'elüe</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 2</th>
<th>do- to eat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>nodo'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>nodane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>node</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>háto-</td>
<td>to stroke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ha'notoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>ha'notane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>ha'note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolo-</td>
<td>to put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>noboloe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>nobalane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>nobale</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
92

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bei- to live, to sit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>noboue</td>
<td>nobou'e</td>
<td>noboune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>nobeine</td>
<td>nebei'e</td>
<td>nebeie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>nobeie</td>
<td>nebei'e</td>
<td>nebeie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hávei- to chase</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>hano'voue</td>
<td>hano'vou'e</td>
<td>hano'voune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>hano'veine</td>
<td>hane'vei'e</td>
<td>hane'veie</td>
</tr>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>hano'veie</td>
<td>hane'vei'e</td>
<td>hane'veie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 4</th>
<th>hao- to shoot</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>no'haoe</td>
<td>no'hao'e</td>
<td>no'haone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>no'hane</td>
<td>ne'ha'e</td>
<td>ne'hae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>no'hae</td>
<td>ne'ha'e</td>
<td>ne'hae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hábáo- to help</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ha'nobaoe</td>
<td>ha'nobao'e</td>
<td>ha'nobaone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>ha'nobane</td>
<td>ha'neba'e</td>
<td>ha'nebae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>ha'nobae</td>
<td>ha'neba'e</td>
<td>ha'nebae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The glottal stop following the first syllable of the verbs hao- and hábáo-, occurs in the progressive aspect forms as in them the verb stem syllables are separated, and therefore the glottal stop cannot be assimilated by a following stop as in other forms.

Regarding the change of verb stem initial h into s following the progressive aspect marker, cf. 2.3.6 irregular verbs.

2.3.2.22 Past tense

The past tense describes actions in the past, i.e. all past actions, be they completive, perfective, or habitual. It may, however, in the way of a perfective aspect, describe an action which has taken place just now, and the results of which are yet at hand: beidie he has sat down, and that means: he sits or he is sitting elidie he has taken, and that means: he is holding it

The verb stem allomorphs occurring in the past tense, are:

Class 1 and class 3 verb stems occur only as front vowel allomorphs in all persons and numbers (except for the irregular verbs hu- and u-, for them, cf. 2.3.6).

The distribution of the class 2 and class 4 verb stem allomorphs follows the general ablaut rule of 2.3.1.1: Back vowel allomorphs for
all singular and all ego, front vowel allomorphs for all non-singular non-ego persons.

The past tense marker is -d-, it follows the verb stem.

Person-number markers indicating subject, are the same in all four classes. Those markers are partly class 1 markers (all first persons, and 3. person singular), and partly class 2 markers (2. person singular, 2. and 3. persons dual and plural). The same distribution of person-number markers is found in the two future tenses.

Chart of person-number markers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>-u-</td>
<td>-u'-</td>
<td>-un'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-an-</td>
<td>-a'-</td>
<td>-a'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>-i-</td>
<td>-a'-</td>
<td>-a'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td>havi- to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>havidue</td>
<td>havidu'e</td>
<td>havidune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>havidane</td>
<td>havida'e</td>
<td>havidae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>havidie</td>
<td>havida'e</td>
<td>havidae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

fili- to die

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>filidue</td>
<td>filidu'e</td>
<td>filidune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>filidane</td>
<td>filida'e</td>
<td>filidae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>filidie</td>
<td>filida'e</td>
<td>filidae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

eli- to take

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>elidue</td>
<td>elidu'e</td>
<td>elidune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>elidane</td>
<td>elida'e</td>
<td>elidae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>elidie</td>
<td>elida'e</td>
<td>elidae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class 2  do- to eat

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>dodue</td>
<td>dodu'e</td>
<td>dodune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>dodane</td>
<td>deda'e</td>
<td>dedae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>dodie</td>
<td>deda'e</td>
<td>dedae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

bolo- to put

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>bolodue</td>
<td>bolodu'e</td>
<td>bolodune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>bolodane</td>
<td>beleda'e</td>
<td>beledae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>bolodie</td>
<td>beleda'e</td>
<td>beledae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Class 3  
bei-  to live, to sit

1. beidue  beidu'e  beidune
2. beidane  beida'e  beidae
3. beidie  beida'e  beidae

Class 4  
haò-  to shoot

1. haodue  haodu'e  haodune
2. haodane  haeda'e  haedae
3. haodie  haeda'e  haedae

Mainly, though not exclusively, with the past tense, the direct chaining of other verb stems with the stem bolo- to put occurs in order to express a completed action.

iyalamu' hu-  bolo-d- i- e  he built a shelf completely
shelf  make-put- PAST-3.SG-IND

hao-  bolo-d- u- e  I shot him dead
shoot-put- PAST-1.SG-IND

2.3.2.23 Intentional future tense (Future I)

This future tense, while occurring as an indicative, may also express intention, command, exhortation to do something, and this action is viewed as a future one:

havisune  we shall listen, or let us listen
desae  you pl/they will eat, or you pl/they shall eat

Verb stems of all classes occur with this tense only as front allomorphs for all persons (i.e. no ablaut rule applies in this tense). The tense marker is -s-, it follows the verb stem.

The person-number markers are the same as described with the past tense (cf. 2.3.2.22), and they are the same for all classes.

Paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td>havi-</td>
<td>to know,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to listen,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to hear,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to perceive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>havisue</td>
<td>havisu'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>havisune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>havisane</td>
<td>havisa'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>havisae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>havisie</td>
<td>havisa'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>havisae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fili- to die</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. filisue</td>
<td>filisu'e</td>
<td>filisune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. filisane</td>
<td>filisa'e</td>
<td>filisae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. filisie</td>
<td>filisa'e</td>
<td>filisae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>eli- to take</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. elisue</td>
<td>elisu'e</td>
<td>elisune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. elisane</td>
<td>elisa'e</td>
<td>elisae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. elisie</td>
<td>elisa'e</td>
<td>elisae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class 2 do- to eat</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. desue</td>
<td>desu'e</td>
<td>desune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. desane</td>
<td>desa'e</td>
<td>desae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. desie</td>
<td>desa'e</td>
<td>desae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bolo- to put</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. belesue</td>
<td>belesu'e</td>
<td>belesune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. belesane</td>
<td>belesa'e</td>
<td>belesae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. belesie</td>
<td>belesa'e</td>
<td>belesae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class 3 bei- to live, to sit</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. beisue</td>
<td>beisu'e</td>
<td>beisune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. beisane</td>
<td>beisa'e</td>
<td>beisae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. beisie</td>
<td>beisa'e</td>
<td>beisae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class 4 hao- to shoot</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. haesue</td>
<td>haesu'e</td>
<td>haesune</td>
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<td>2. haesane</td>
<td>haesa'e</td>
<td>haesae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. haesie</td>
<td>haesa'e</td>
<td>haesae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suffixes -ge' and -me' /-ame'/ -pe' which occur with the intentional future tense to express anticipation, are described under 2.3.3.25.

2.3.2.24 Future tense (Future II)

This tense describes actions which will take place in the future:

- **dogune** we shall eat
- **filigie** he will die

Verb stem allomorphs occur in the same distribution as described for the past tense (2.3.2.22):
Class 1 and class 3 verb stems occur only as front vowel allomorphs in all persons and numbers (except for the irregular verbs hu- and u-, for them, cf. 2.3.6).

The distribution of the class 2 and class 4 verb stem allomorphs follows the general ablaut rule set out in 2.3.1.1: Back vowel allomorphs occur with all ego persons and with all singular persons, front vowel allomorphs with all non-ego non-singular persons.

The tense marker is -g-, it follows the verb stem.

The person-number markers are the same as described with the past tense (2.3.2.22), and they are the same for all classes.

Paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>havi- to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>havigue</td>
<td>havigu'e</td>
<td>havigune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>havigane</td>
<td>havigae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>havigie</td>
<td>havigae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>filli- to die</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>filigue</td>
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<td>filigune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>filigane</td>
<td>filiga'e</td>
<td>filiga</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>filigie</td>
<td>filiga'e</td>
<td>filiga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eli- to take</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>eligue</td>
<td>eligu'e</td>
<td>eligune</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>eligie</td>
<td>eliga'e</td>
<td>eligae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>do- to eat</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>dogue</td>
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<td>dega'e</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>dogie</td>
<td>dega'e</td>
<td>degae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bolo- to put</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>bologue</td>
<td>bologu'e</td>
<td>bologune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>bologane</td>
<td>belega'e</td>
<td>belegae</td>
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<td>bologie</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Class 3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bei- to live, to sit</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>beigue</td>
<td>beigu'e</td>
<td>beigune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>beigane</td>
<td>beiga'e</td>
<td>beigae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>beigie</td>
<td>beiga'e</td>
<td>beigae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are three kinds of imperative which can be classified as final verb forms:

The regular imperative, with the subject being the second person singular, dual, and plural.

The first and third person imperative.

The polite, or greeting, imperative.

(For the the medial imperative, cf. 2.3.3.13.2).

2.3.2.3 Regular imperative

The regular imperative expresses an order or command, to be carried out immediately.

do eat!
haviio listen pl!

The order of morphemes for the regular imperative is as follows:

+ NEG + OBJ + VBS + IMN

The distribution of stem allomorphs is as follows:

Class 1 and class 3 verb stems occur as front vowel allomorphs only. (for the irregular verbs hu- and u-, cf. 2.3.6).

Class 2 and class 4 verb stems occur as back vowel allomorphs for singular, and front vowel allomorphs for dual and plural.

Subject of the regular imperative is only the second person, therefore the subject markers occurring with the regular imperative, contrast only with regard to number. The number markers are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-'o</td>
<td>-io</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 2</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-'o</td>
<td>-eo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the imperative, the subject marker is suffixed directly to the verb stem which in classes 2 and 4 results in vowel contractions in singular and plural:
do- + -0 > doo > do
deo- + -eo > deeo > deo
hao- + -0 > haoo > hao
haeo- + -eo > haeeo > haeo

To keep in line, however, with the formula for final verbs (cf. 2.3.2), the Imperative may be considered a Present Tense with a zero tense morpheme. Further in this analysis, -o (which may be considered identical with the vocative marker, cf. 2.1.2.8, and also 2.3.2.5) would be the imperative mood marker. The PN markers then would be:

Singular: -6-
Dual: -'-
Plural: -i- (Classes 1 and 3)
-e- (Classes 2 and 4)

Paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>havio</td>
<td>havi'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eliot</td>
<td>eli'o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 2</th>
<th>to eat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>de'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolt</td>
<td>bele'o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>to live, to sit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beiot</td>
<td>beio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 4</th>
<th>to shoot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hao</td>
<td>hae'o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperatives may occur with an intensifier morpheme -gapa:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>havi-</th>
<th>do listen sg!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'o-</td>
<td>do listen dl!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>io-</td>
<td>do listen pl!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

listen-IMN-IMIN
For the irregular singular form of the verb o- to go, cf. 2.3.6.4.

2.3.2.32 First and third person imperative

This imperative expresses an order, command, or exhortation, to be carried out immediately. Subject of this imperative may be any person except the second persons.

The verb stems of all classes occur with this imperative only as front vowel allomorphs.

The subject marker of this imperative is -no for all persons and numbers, and the order of morphemes is:

+ NEG + OBJ + VBS + -no

Paradigms:

havino I / he / we dl pl / they dl pl shall listen!
deno I / he / we dl pl / they dl pl shall eat!
beino I / he / we dl pl / they dl pl shall sit!
haeno I / he / we dl pl / they dl pl shall shoot!

Because this form is ambiguous, it has always to be clarified by the context:

ba bogo d- ami- ga-da de- no give me a sweet potato, and sweet potato one me-give-NI-I eat-no I shall eat!
yava' aeli-ga-ni age-no show him the money, and he shall money show-NI-he see-no see it!
heti- ga-ta i- no get up, let us go!
stand up-NI-we go-no
nina hevi- ta leki-ga-ni ni- kona haveite- no water fetch-2.PL pour-NI-it water-tube get full-no scoop up pl water and pour it into the tube that it gets full!

2.3.2.33 Polite imperative

This imperative occurs only with the verb beiti- to live, to sit, to stay, and with the verbs of motion u- to go, o- to come, beiti- to go up, elemi- to go down, heiti- o- to come up, emi- o- to come down.

Subject of the polite imperative is only the second person of singular, dual, and plural.

The polite imperative is used as greeting when people leave or arrive. The person waiting or staying uses the appropriate form of a
verb of motion, the person leaving uses the appropriate form of *bei-*. The polite imperative verb forms correspond with the polite interrogative forms (cf. 2.3.2.43 and 3.3.2.2).

The verb stems with the polite imperative occur as front vowel allomorphs in all three numbers, except for the verb stems *u- to go* and *o- to come* which occur as back vowel allomorphs in the singular.

The polite imperative marker, or greeting morpheme, *-tolo-/*-tele- occurs as back vowel allomorph with the singular (except for *o-to come* and its compound *hei-o- to come up* and *emi-o- to come down* which carry the front vowel allomorph also in the singular), and as front vowel allomorph with dual and plural. This morpheme is quite obviously a verb stem, most probably *tolo- to throw away, to leave*.

Suffixed to the greeting morpheme is the subject number marker of the regular imperative, so that the order of morphemes for the polite imperative is:

\[ VBS + GR + IMN \]

Paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>u- to go</em></td>
<td>utolo</td>
<td>itele'o</td>
<td>iteleo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>o- to come</em></td>
<td>oteleno</td>
<td>etele'o</td>
<td>eteleo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>heī- to go up</em></td>
<td>heitolo</td>
<td>heitele'o</td>
<td>heiteleo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>elemi- to go down</em></td>
<td>elemitolo</td>
<td>elemitele'o</td>
<td>elemiteleo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>heī-o- to come up</em></td>
<td>heika oteleno</td>
<td>heita'a etele'o</td>
<td>heita eteleo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>emi-o- to come down</em></td>
<td>emika oteleno</td>
<td>emita'a etele'o</td>
<td>emita eteleo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(re the irregular singular, cf. 2.3.6.4)

With the last two compound verbs, regressive vowel assimilation occurs in speech, as described in 1.2).

*beī- to live, to sit, to stay beītolo beitele'o beiteleo*

2.3.2.4 Interrogatives

There are three kinds of interrogative:
The real or direct interrogative,
the conditional, or indirect, or assumptional interrogative,
the polite or greeting interrogative.
2.3.2.41 Real interrogative

The real interrogative is used for direct questions to which an answer 'yes' or 'no' can be expected. (The answer, however, usually consists of a clause or sentence).

Any indicative can be turned interrogative by the real interrogative morpheme being suffixed to the PN marker instead of the indicative mood marker. The order of morphemes in real interrogative verb forms is therefore:

\[ + \text{ASP} + \text{NEG} + \text{OBJ} + \text{VBS} + \text{T} + \text{PN} + \text{INT} \]

The real interrogative marker has three allomorphs: -vie, -avie, and -pie. Their distribution is as follows:

- **-vie** occurs after open syllables (1. and 3. person singular, 2. and 3. person plural)
- **-avie** occurs after syllables closed by glottal stop (all dual persons)
- **-pie** occurs with PN markers closed by n \( p < n + v \) (2. person singular, 1. person plural)

Note: The morpheme-final -e could be explained as the indicative mood marker denoting the real interrogative, which contrasts with the conditional interrogative (2.3.2.42) which does not carry that marker.

Examples:

- **havi- d- i- vie**
  hear- PAST-3.SG-INT
  *did he hear?*

- **no- d- a- pie**
  PROG-eat-2.SG-INT
  *are you eating?*

- **hae- s- i- vie**
  shoot-IFUT-3.SG-INT
  *will he shoot?*

- **fili-g- a'- avie**
  die- FUT-3.DL-INT
  *will they dl die?*

The real interrogative morpheme may also occur with substantives, but only with the two allomorphs -vie and -pie (' + v > p)

- **m- igopa gagae' igopa-vie**
  *is this your land?*

- **this-land your land- INT**
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yo- pi-pie in the house?
house-IN-INT
buga- vie over there?
over there-INT
ma'i-lo-pie here?
this-AD-INT
dagae-vie I?
I- INT

(Note that the suffixing occurs here with the open short form of the pronoun, cf. 2.1.1.1).

2.3.2.42 Conditional interrogative

The conditional interrogative, which may also be termed indirect or assumptional interrogative, occurs in rhetorical questions which expect a negative answer, further it occurs in expressions of uncertainty, and, when with substantives, sometimes in a conjunctive function (with or without the comitative marker suffixed to the following word).

The order of morphemes in conditional interrogative verb forms is the same as in real conditional verb forms:

+ ASP + NEG + OBJ + VBS + T + PN + INTC

The conditional interrogative marker has three allomorphs: -vi, -avi, and -pi. Their distribution corresponds to that of the real interrogative marker allomorphs -vie, -avie, and -pie.(2.3.2.41) With substantives, only the allomorphs -vi and -pi occur.

Examples:

gagaea ganevi leka'pei-ka su ho- g- a- pi will you (be able to)
you star count- 2.SG finish-FUT-2.SG-INTC count all the stars?
e- s- a- vi maybe they will come
come-IFUT-3.PL-INTC
i- s- u- pi a'- u- g- un- e shall we go or not?
go-IFUT-1.PL-INTC NEG-go-FUT-1.PL-IND
yo- pi' bei-d- i- vi henaga'a bei-d- i- e is he in the house
house-IN sit-PAST-3.SG-INTC outside sit-PAST-3.SG-IND or outside?
ni- pi-pi    perhaps in the water?
water-IN-INTC

ni- pi-pi   asuapa-loga-'e'    in the water and on the bank
water-IN-INTC  bank- AD- COM

ae    hogona'a-vi    yatala' ae    low and high mountains
mountain short-    INTC  long    mountain

dagae-di-    vi    yale- di-'e'    I myself, and my people
I- myself-INTC  people-my-COM

In conditional interrogative verb forms, at times a combination of the past tense and the intentional future tense marker is found (that combination may occur also with future medial verb forms, cf. 2.3.3.12.4).

Note: This kind of combination could mean some kind of a perfective future tense, but because of too little evidence, such a tense has not been established.

na- lo' beid- s- i- vi    might he be there?
that-AD  sit-PAST-IFUT-3.SG-INTC

(this is an example for the aspect character which the tenses definitely have, cf. 2.3.2.1).

2.3.2.43 Polite interrogative

The polite or greeting interrogative corresponds with the polite imperative (2.3.2.33), it occurs only with the same verbs: bei-, u-, o-, hei-, elemi-, hei- o-, emi- o-, and it occurs only with second persons as subjects.

The polite interrogative is used as greeting when people leave or arrive. The person waiting or staying uses the appropriate form of a verb of motion, the person arriving or leaving uses the appropriate form of bei-.

The verb stems occur as front vowel allomorphs in all three numbers except for the verb stems u- to go and o- to come which occur as back vowel allomorphs in the singular.

The greeting morpheme which occurs with the polite imperative either as back vowel or as front vowel allomorph, occurs with the polite interrogative in a third allomorphic form, as central vowel allomorph, -tala- (or rather -tal- ), for all three numbers.

The order of morphemes in the polite interrogative verb is:
The real interrogative morpheme occurs in the same allomorphic distribution as described in 2.3.2.41.

Paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u- to go</td>
<td>utalapie</td>
<td>italavie</td>
<td>italavie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o- to come</td>
<td>otalapie</td>
<td>etalavie</td>
<td>etalavie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hei- to go up</td>
<td>heitalapie</td>
<td>heitalavie</td>
<td>heitalavie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elemi- to go down</td>
<td>elemitalapie</td>
<td>elemitalavie</td>
<td>elemitalavie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hei- o- to come up</td>
<td>heika otalapie</td>
<td>heita' a etalavie</td>
<td>heita etalavie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emi- o- to come down</td>
<td>emika otalapie</td>
<td>emita' a etalavie</td>
<td>emita etalavie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(with the last two compound verbs, regressive vowel assimilation occurs in speech, as described in 1.2)

be- to live, to sit, to stay beitalapie beitalavie beitalavie

Examples of greeting exchanges, in which an interrogative is answered by an indicative, are as follows:

**Arrival:**
- person arriving: beitalapie are you here?
- person waiting: beidue. otalapie I am here. Are you coming?
- person arriving: no'oe I am coming
- person waiting: oteleno then come!
- or:
  - person waiting: heika otalapie are you coming up?
  - person arriving: heida no'oe I am coming up
  - person waiting: heika oteleno then come up!

**Departure:**
- person staying: utalapie are you going?
- person leaving: no'ue I am going
- person staying: utolo then go!
- person leaving: beltolo then stay!
- or:
  - persons staying: elemitalavie are you pl going down?
  - persons leaving: no'olomune we are going down
  - persons staying: elemiteleo then go pl down!
  - persons leaving: beliteleo then stay pl!
2.3.2.5 Emphatic mood

The emphatic mood occurs mainly in speeches and stories. It is a specially stressed indicative. The emphatic morpheme occurs with two allomorphs, -gi with singular and plural persons, -agi with dual persons. It occupies the mood slot in verbs, either by itself, or in combination with either the indicative morpheme or the pivotal marker.

The order of the morphemes in emphatic verbs therefore is:

\[ + \text{ASP} + \text{NEG} + \text{OBJ} + \text{VBS} + \text{T} + \text{PN} + \{\text{IND}\} + \text{EMPH} \]

Examples:

- **elemi- s- u'- agi** we dl shall definitely go down
  go down-IFUT-1.DL-EMPH

- **yale- mo bei- d- u- gi** I am definitely human
  people-CON live-PAST-1.SG-EMPH

- **bei- s- a- pa- gi** you shall definitely stay
  live-IFUT-2.SG-PIV-EMPH

- **biga hano- d- i- gi** it is definitely over there
  over there exist-PAST-3.SG-EMPH

- **legi' bei- ka h- an- e- gi** you are definitely living here
  true live-2.SG do-2.SG-IND-EMPH

  Emphatic verbs may be intensified further by an exclamatory clitic `-o which cannot be glossed at all.

- **ge h- a- ma- gi- o** they are definitely speaking
  word say-3.PL-PIV-EMPH-EX

- **bei- da no- s- u- gi- o** I am definitely alive
  live-1.SG PROG-do-1.SG-EMPH-EX

  Another emphatic marker is `vao, it is especially used in exclamation sentences:

- **ga- hao- bolo- d- u- vao** I have really killed you!
  you-shoot-put- PAST-1.SG-EMPH

  For another emphatic verb form, cf. under 2.3.3.23.

2.3.3 Dependent verbs

This whole section deals with verb forms which depend on subsequent clauses. The most frequently occurring of those dependent verbs is the medial verb. Besides that, there is the nominalized verb with its derivations, anticipatory forms and verb combinations which all depend
on other clauses.

2.3.3.1 Medial verb

Medial verbs may occur in the verb slot of any but the last clause of a sentence.

The medial verbs contrast with regard to identity and non-identity of the subject in the anticipated clause. Verb forms anticipating identical subject, are inflected for subject, and may be inflected for aspect. Verb forms anticipating non-identical subject, indicate the non-identity of the subject with a special morpheme, and are inflected for preceding and anticipated subject, and may be inflected for tense or aspect.

2.3.3.1.1 Identical subject

These verb forms occupy the verb slot in a clause of which the subject is identical with the anticipated subject of the following clause. They occur in a neutral form which is inflected only with regard to subject, and two aspectual forms which are inflected for subject and for progressive or completed/perfective/extended aspect.

The distribution of verb stem allomorphs is as follows: Class 1 and class 3 verb stems occur only as front vowel allomorphs with the exception of the irregular verbs hu- and u- (for those, cf. 2.3.6). Class 2 and class 4 verb stems follow the general ablaut rule set out in 2.3.1.1: They have back vowel allomorphs for all singular and all ego persons, and front vowel allomorphs for all non-singular non-ego persons.

The subject is indicated by the pronoun-affix like PN markers which are described in the pronoun section of this grammar (cf. 2.1.1.21.2, first set).

The order of the morphemes for the subject-identical medial verb could be shown thus:

\[ + \text{PROG} + \text{NEG} + \text{OBJ} + \text{VBS} + \text{ASP} + \text{PN} \]

2.3.3.1.1.1 Neutral

The neutral form may occur in connection with any tense of the sentence-final verb, and takes its tense from that final verb form. It relates to successive actions without denoting whether the action described is completed or still in progress as the anticipated action starts.
dote'na do-na ge hu-d-i-e he ate and spoke
food eat-3.SG word say-PAST-3.SG-IND

dote'na a-do-na ge hu-d-i-e without eating, he spoke
food NEG-eat-3.SG word say-PAST-3.SG-IND

age havi-ta u-g-un-e we shall hear the news and go
report hear-1.PL go-FUT-1.PL-IND

The order of morphemes for this verb is:

+ NEG + OBJ + VBS + PN

Polysyllabic verb stems with more than one non-reduced syllable
infix the negation morpheme into the stem preceding the last syllable
of the stem, cf. 2.3.1.5.

Paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>havi- to hear, to know, to listen, to perceive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>havida</td>
<td>havita'a</td>
<td>havita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>havika</td>
<td>havita'a</td>
<td>havita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>havina</td>
<td>havida'a</td>
<td>havida</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

fili- to die

| 1.      | filida       | filita'a    | filita     |
| 2.      | filika       | filita'a    | filita     |
| 3.      | filina       | filida'a    | filida     |

eli- to take

| 1.      | elida        | elita'a     | elita      |
| 2.      | elika        | elita'a     | elita      |
| 3.      | elina        | elida'a     | elida      |

Class 2 do- to eat

| 1.      | doda         | dota'a      | dota       |
| 2.      | doka         | deta'a      | deta       |
| 3.      | dona         | deda'a      | deda       |

bolo- to put

| 1.      | boloda       | bolota'a    | bolota     |
| 2.      | boloka       | beleta'a    | beleta     |
| 3.      | bolona       | beleda'a    | beleda     |
### Table of Tenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to live, to sit, to stay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>beida</td>
<td>beita'a</td>
<td>beita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>beika</td>
<td>beita'a</td>
<td>beita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>beina</td>
<td>beida'a</td>
<td>beida</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 4</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to shoot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>haoda</td>
<td>haota'a</td>
<td>haota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>haoka</td>
<td>haeta'a</td>
<td>haeta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>haona</td>
<td>haeda'a</td>
<td>haeda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 2.3.3.11.2 Progressive

The progressive form may occur in connection with any tense of the sentence final verb, and it takes its tense from that final verb. It relates to simultaneous actions denoting that the action described is still in progress while the anticipated action starts, or goes on. The progressive aspect is indicated by the present progressive marker prefixed to the verb stem in the allomorphic distribution as described in 2.3.2.21.2.

- **dote'na no- do- na ge hu- d- i- e** while he was eating, he spoke
- **ge no'- a'- havi- na dote'na do- d- i- e** while not listening to
- **word** PROG-NEG-hear-3.SG food eat-PAST-3.SG-IND the talk, he ate
- **ge no'- havi- ta dote'na do- g- un- e** while listening to the talk,
- **word** PROG-hear-1.PL food eat-FUT-1.PL-IND we shall eat

The order of morphemes for the progressive form is:

\[ + \text{PROG} + \text{NEG} + \text{OBJ} + \text{VBS} + \text{PN} \]

With polysyllabic verb stems which have more than one non-reduced syllable, the progressive marker is infixed to the stem, preceding the last syllable of the stem.

**Paradigms:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>no'havida</td>
<td>no'havita'a</td>
<td>no'havita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>no'havika</td>
<td>ne'havita'a</td>
<td>ne'havita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>no'havina</td>
<td>ne'havida'a</td>
<td>ne'havida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>filli-</td>
<td>to die</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. nofilida</td>
<td>nofilita'a</td>
<td>nofilita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nofilika</td>
<td>nefilita'a</td>
<td>nefilita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nofilina</td>
<td>nefilida'a</td>
<td>nefilida</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eli-</td>
<td>to take</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. no'elida</td>
<td>no'elita'a</td>
<td>no'elita</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2. no'elika</td>
<td>ne'elita'a</td>
<td>ne'elita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. no'elina</td>
<td>ne'elida'a</td>
<td>ne'elida</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hěvi-</td>
<td>to fetch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. heno'vida</td>
<td>heno'vita'a</td>
<td>heno'vita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. heno'vika</td>
<td>hene'vita'a</td>
<td>hene'vita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. heno'vina</td>
<td>hene'vida'a</td>
<td>hene'vida</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 2</td>
<td>do-</td>
<td>to eat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. nododa</td>
<td>nodota'a</td>
<td>nodota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nodoka</td>
<td>nedeta'a</td>
<td>nedeta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nodona</td>
<td>nededa'a</td>
<td>nededa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolo-</td>
<td>to put</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. noboloda</td>
<td>nobolota'a</td>
<td>nobolota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. noboloka</td>
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<td>nebeleta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nobolona</td>
<td>nebeleda'a</td>
<td>nebeleda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>háto-</td>
<td>to stroke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ha'nnotoda</td>
<td>ha'nnotota'a</td>
<td>ha'nnotota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ha'nnotoka</td>
<td>ha'neteta'a</td>
<td>ha'neteta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ha'nnotona</td>
<td>ha'neteda'a</td>
<td>ha'neteda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 3</td>
<td>bei-</td>
<td>to live, to sit, to stay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. nobeida</td>
<td>nobeita'a</td>
<td>nobeita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nobeika</td>
<td>nobeita'a</td>
<td>nobeita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nobeina</td>
<td>nobeida'a</td>
<td>nobeida</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hávei-</td>
<td>to chase</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. hano'veida</td>
<td>hano'vita'a</td>
<td>hano'vita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. hano'veika</td>
<td>hane'vita'a</td>
<td>hane'vita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. hano'veina</td>
<td>hane'vida'a</td>
<td>hane'vida</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 4</td>
<td>hao-</td>
<td>to shoot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. no'haoda</td>
<td>no'haota'a</td>
<td>no'haota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. no'haoka</td>
<td>ne'haeta'a</td>
<td>ne'haeta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. no'haona</td>
<td>ne'haeda'a</td>
<td>ne'haeda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The aspect slot following the verb stem, may be occupied by morphemes denoting completed, perfective, or extended action. All those medial verb forms may occur with any tense of the sentence final verb, and take their tense from that final verb form.

The order of the morphemes for these verb forms is:

+ NEG + OBJ + VBS + ASP + PN

The completed aspect is indicated by the morpheme -lo- / -le-. The distribution of its allomorphs follows the general ablaut rule set out in 2.3.1.1. That indicates that the morpheme is actually the stem of a class 2 verb. It is quite obviously a short form of the verb bolo- to put which also in its full form may be chained directly on to another verb stem in order to express completion (cf. 2.3.2.2).

The completed aspect medial verb relates to successive actions denoting that the action described is completed before the anticipated action starts.

dote'na do- lo- na ge hu- d- i- e after he had eaten, he spoke food eat-CPL-3.SG word say-PAST-3.SG-IND

gayale hao- lo- ta vakei- g- un- e after shooting the pig, we pig shoot-CPL-1.PL butcher-FUT-1.PL-IND shall butcher it

Paradigm: havi- to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>havidoda</td>
<td>havidota'a</td>
<td>havidota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haviloa</td>
<td>havileta'a</td>
<td>havileta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>havidona</td>
<td>havileda'a</td>
<td>havileda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The perfective aspect is indicated by the past tense marker in its allomorphic forms -du- and -di-. The distribution of the allomorphs follows the general ablaut rule (cf. 2.3.1.1). The action described, is definite, but does not necessarily have to be completed as the anticipated action starts. (cf. also 2.3.3.12.4 and 2.3.2.42)
pagaea d- age-di- da dagae-se' bubele- d- a- e
they me-see-PAST-3.PL I- BEN be glad-PAST-3.PL-IND
when they saw me (i.e. they saw me, and were still seeing me), they were glad about me
a'i bade-ma' fologa-pi- vi' va'yu hu-na bei-du- na
that boy- PIV middle-their-IN arrive- 3.SG sit-PAST-3.SG
age- 'a f- apei-d- i- e
story-his them-tell-PAST-3.SG-IND
that boy arrived in their midst, and as he was there, told them his story

Paradigm: beī- to live, to sit, to stay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>beiduda</td>
<td>beiduta'a</td>
<td>beiduta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>beiduka</td>
<td>beidita'a</td>
<td>beidita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>beiduna</td>
<td>beidida'a</td>
<td>beidida</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A locationally or temporarily extended action is denoted by the morpheme -li- occurring in the aspect slot:
ougegesa yava yao- vinagati' govi- li-da yo- toga
big tree forest-EL carry-li-1.SG village-AD
u- d- u- e
go-PAST-1.SG-IND
I carried a big tree (all the way) from the bush to the village
gea' ao-li-na h- i- ga-pi havi-d- a- e
he kept calling, and then they heard him

2.3.3.12 Non-identical subject

These verb forms occupy the verb slot in a clause of which the subject is not identical with the subject of the following clause. They carry a special morpheme indicating non-identity, are inflected for subject and anticipated subject, and may be inflected for aspect or tense. The five forms of the non-identical subject medial verb are therefore: neutral, progressive, completed, future, and imperative.

The non-identity morpheme has two allomorphs, -ga- for the 1. and 3. person singular and the 2. and 3. person plural, and -aga- for the 2. person singular, the 1. person plural, and all dual persons.
The anticipated subject is indicated by the pronoun-affix like PN markers which are described in the pronoun section of this grammar (cf. 2.1.1.21.2, second set).

Verb stems occur in the same allomorphic distribution as they are found in the present, past, and intentional future tense of the final verb, as well as in the imperative.

The order of morphemes for these verb forms is shown in this formula:

\[ + \text{PROG} + \text{NEG} + \text{OBJ} + \text{VBS} + T + PN_1 + NI + PN_2 \]

(NI is the non-identity marker, PN\(_1\) the usual PN subject indicator of the verb, and PN\(_2\) the pronoun-affix like PN marker for the anticipated subject.)

2.3.3.12.1 Neutral

The neutral form may occur in connection with any tense of the sentence-final verb, and it takes its tense from that final verb form. It relates to successive actions without denoting whether the action described is completed or still in progress as the anticipated action starts.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ba} & \quad d\text{- am- i- ga-da do- d- u- e} \quad \text{he gave me a sweet} \\
\text{sweet potato me-give-3.SG-NI-I eat-PAST-1.SG-IND potato, and I ate} \\
dote'na & \quad d\text{- on- aga-pi } 1\text{- age-g- a- e} \quad \text{we shall eat the food, and} \\
food & \quad \text{eat-1.PL-NI- they see-FUT-3.PL-IND they will see us}
\end{align*} \]

The basis for this verb form is the neutral aspect of the present tense without the indicative marker, suffixed with the markers for non-identity and anticipated subject. The order of morphemes is:

\[ + \text{NEG} + \text{OBJ} + \text{VBS} + \text{PN}_1 + \text{NI} + \text{PN}_2 \]

In the following paradigms, the PN\(_2\) slot is always occupied by the marker for the 3. person singular, but that could be occupied by the marker of any other person. (For -ni, there is also the allomorph -na which may be freely exchanged with -ni, though -ni occurs with greater frequency.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>havi- to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>havinagani</td>
<td>havu'agani</td>
<td>havunagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>havigani</td>
<td>havi'agani</td>
<td>havigani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
113

 Singular    Dual    Plural

Class 2    do- to eat
1. dogani    do'agani    donagani
2. danagani  de'agani    dagani
3. degani    de'agani    dagani

Class 3    be- to live, to sit, to stay
1. bouganii  bou'agani  bounagani
2. beinagani bei'agani  beigani
3. beigani   bei'agani  beigani

Class 4    hao- to shoot
1. haoagani  hao'agani  haonagani
2. hanagani  ha'agani   hagani
3. haegani   ha'agani   hagani

There is a short form with the 3. person singular which uses the morpheme -ma- to express non-identity, and always the morpheme -na for the anticipated subject of the 3. person singular.

a ba'ge hav-i ma-na ve ma'ge bogo hapei-d i-e
woman-PIV word hear-3.SG-NI-he man-PIV word one tell- PAST-3.SG-IND
when the woman heard it, the man told her something else

In fast speech, there is a tendency to use in the PN slot the 3. person singular form also for other subjects. That, however, is never done with the anticipated subject. For the anticipated subject, the correct PN marker is always used.

2.3.3.12.2 Progressive

The progressive form may occur in connection with any tense of the sentence final verb, and it takes its tense from that final verb form. It relates to simultaneous actions denoting that the action described is still in progress while the anticipated action starts, or goes on.

ba no d o ga-ni ge da-hapei-d i-e
sweet potato PROG-eat-1.SG-NI-he word me-tell- PAST-3.SG-IND
while I was eating the sweet potato, he told me something

ba no d e ga-ta hapei-g un-e
sweet potato PROG-eat-1.SG-NI-we tell- FUT-1.PL-IND
while he will be eating the sweet potato, we shall tell him
The basis for this verb form is the progressive aspect of the present tense without the indicative marker, suffixed with the markers for non-identity and anticipated subject. The order of morphemes is:

\[ + \text{PROG} + \text{NEG} + \text{OBJ} + \text{VBS} + \text{PN}_1 + \text{NI} + \text{PN}_2 \]

With polysyllabic verb stems which have more than one non-reduced syllable, the progressive marker is infixed to the stem preceding the last syllable.

In the following paradigms, the PN$_2$ slot is again occupied by the marker for the 3. person singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>havi-</td>
<td>to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. no'havugani</td>
<td>no'havu'agani</td>
<td>no'havunagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. no'havinagani</td>
<td>ne'havi'agani</td>
<td>ne'havigani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. no'havigani</td>
<td>ne'havi'agani</td>
<td>ne'havigani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do-</td>
<td>to eat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. nodogani</td>
<td>nodo'agani</td>
<td>nodonagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nodanagani</td>
<td>neda'agani</td>
<td>nedagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nodegani</td>
<td>neda'agani</td>
<td>nedagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class 3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bei-</td>
<td>to live, to sit, to stay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. noboungani</td>
<td>nobou'agani</td>
<td>nobounagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. noeinagani</td>
<td>nebei'agani</td>
<td>nebeigani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nobigani</td>
<td>nebei'agani</td>
<td>nebeigani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class 4</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hao-</td>
<td>to shoot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. no'haogani</td>
<td>no'hao'agani</td>
<td>no'haonagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. no'hanagani</td>
<td>ne'ha'agani</td>
<td>ne'hagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. no'haegani</td>
<td>ne'ha'agani</td>
<td>ne'hagani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also with the progressive form, in fast speech there is a tendency to use the 3. person singular marker extensively in the PN$_1$ slot also for other subjects.

2.3.3.12.3 Completed (Past)

The completed form may occur in connection with any tense of the sentence final verb, but its main occurrence is with past and present tense. It takes its tense from that final verb form. It relates to successive actions denoting that the action described is completed before the anticipated action starts.
Note: Occurrence with the future tense is very infrequent. If the completed form occurs with the future, it may carry the intentional future tense marker -s- in addition to the past tense marker -d-, cf. 2.3.3.12.4.

ba do- d- i- ga-ta hapei-d- un- e
sweet potato eat-PAST-3.SG-NI-we tell- PAST-1.PL-IND
after he had eaten the sweet potato, we told him

ba d- ami- d- an- aga-da no- d- o- e
sweet potato me-give-PAST-2.SG-NI I PROG-eat-1.SG-IND

The basis for this verb form is the past tense without the indicative marker, suffixed with the markers for non-identity and anticipated subject. The order of the morphemes is:

\[ + \text{NEG} + \text{OBJ} + \text{VBS} + \text{PAST} + \text{PN}_1 + \text{NI} + \text{PN}_2 \]

In the following paradigms, again, the PN\textsubscript{2} slot is occupied by the marker for the 3. person singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td>havi- to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>havidugani</td>
<td>havidu'agani</td>
<td>havidunagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>havidanagani</td>
<td>hava'da'agani</td>
<td>havidagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>havidigani</td>
<td>hava'da'agani</td>
<td>havidagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 2</td>
<td>do- to eat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>dodugani</td>
<td>dodu'agani</td>
<td>dodunagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>dodanagani</td>
<td>deda'agani</td>
<td>dedagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>dodigani</td>
<td>deda'agani</td>
<td>dedagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 3</td>
<td>bei- to live, to sit, to stay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>beidugani</td>
<td>beidu'agani</td>
<td>beidunagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>beidanagani</td>
<td>beida'agani</td>
<td>beidagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>beidigani</td>
<td>beida'agani</td>
<td>beidagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 4</td>
<td>hao- to shoot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>haodugani</td>
<td>haodu'agani</td>
<td>haodunagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>haodanagani</td>
<td>haeda'agani</td>
<td>haedagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>haodigani</td>
<td>haeda'agani</td>
<td>haedagani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Instead of the past tense marker plus the PN₁ marker, occasionally the completed aspect marker described in 2.3.3.11.3 is used in its allomorphic form -le- to express completed action:

avo-'a-ma' fill-i-le-ga-ni bade heito hu-d- i-e

father-his-PIV die-3.SG-CPL-NI-he boy cry PAST-3.SG-IND

after his father had died, the boy cried

2.3.3.12.4 Future

The future form occurs only in connection with final verb forms of either of the two future tenses. It relates to successive actions taking place in the future.

ba de-s-an aga-ta u-g-un-e

sweet potato eat-IFUT-2.SG-NI- we go-FUT-1.PL-IND

after you will have eaten the sweet potato, we shall go

The basis for this verb form is the intentional future tense without the indicative marker, suffixed with the markers for non-identity and anticipated subject. The order of morphemes is:

+ NEG + OBJ + VBS + IFUT + PN₁ + NI + PN₂

The perfective aspect (cf.2.3.3.11.3) is added to the action described by the past tense marker in its allomorphic form -di- being used in connection with the intentional future tense marker:

+ NEG + OBJ + VBS + PAST + IFUT + PN₁ + NI + PN₂
dote'na do-di-s-u-ga-ta u-g-un-e

food eat-PAST-IFUT-1.SG-NI- we go-FUT-1.PL-IND

as I shall still be eating, we shall go

lapagae-'ese' bei-di-s-u-ga-ni gana'a su ho-g-i-e

you pl- COM sit-PAST-IFUT-1.SG-NI-ii time finish-FUT-3.SG-IND

I am with you, and shall be staying with you until the time is finished

(cf. also 2.3.3.11.3 and 2.3.2.42)

If it is to be stressed that the action described will be going on yet as the anticipated action will start, the progressive marker will be used in connection with the future tense marker:
In the following paradigms, again, the PN₂ slot is occupied by the marker for the 3. person singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive</td>
<td>havisugani</td>
<td>havisu'agani</td>
<td>havisunagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>havisanagani</td>
<td>havisa'agani</td>
<td>havisagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>havisigani</td>
<td>havisa'agani</td>
<td>havisagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>to eat</td>
<td>desugani</td>
<td>desu'agani</td>
<td>desunagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>desanagani</td>
<td>desa'agani</td>
<td>desagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>desigani</td>
<td>desa'agani</td>
<td>desagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>to live, to sit, to stay</td>
<td>beisugani</td>
<td>beisu'agani</td>
<td>beisunagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>beisanagani</td>
<td>beisa'agani</td>
<td>beisagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>beisigani</td>
<td>beisa'agani</td>
<td>beisagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>to shoot</td>
<td>haesugani</td>
<td>haesu'agani</td>
<td>haesunagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>haesanagani</td>
<td>haesa'agani</td>
<td>haesagani</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>haesigani</td>
<td>haesa'agani</td>
<td>haesagani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.3.12.5 Imperative

The imperative verb form occurs usually in direct speech, in connection with final verb forms in the imperative or in either of the two future tenses. It relates to future actions which are usually successive, but may be denoted to be simultaneous, by prefixation of the progressive marker.

ni' hevi- ta yuapa-vi' leki-i- ga-da ni' fele-s- u- e
water fetch-2.PL dish- IN pour-PL-NI-I water wash-IFUT-1.SG-IND
fetch pl water and pour it into the dish, and I shall wash!
gu- 'a yava-lo' sei- ka bolo-Ø ga-ni hane- s- i- e  
netbag-his tree-AD hang-2.SG put- SG-NI-it exist-IFUT-3.SG-IND  
hang sg his netbag up on the tree, and it shall be there!

latagaea gala havei-'- aga-ni i- s- i- e chase dl the dog, so it you dl dog chase-DL-NI- he go-IFUT-3.SG-IND will go away!

The basis for this verb, PN₁ being a second person, is the regular imperative (cf. 2.3.2.31) without its final morpheme -o, suffixed with the markers for non-identity and anticipated subject. The order of the morphemes is:

+ PROG + NEG + OBJ + VBS + PN₁ + NI + PN₂

PN₁ is a Ø morpheme except in all dual forms and the plural forms of class 1 and class 3 verbs.

In the following paradigms, again, the PN₂ slot is occupied by the marker for the 3. person singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td>havi- to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive</td>
<td>havi'agani</td>
<td>haviigani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 2</td>
<td>do- to eat</td>
<td>dogani</td>
<td>de'agani degani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 3</td>
<td>bei- to live, to sit, to stay</td>
<td>bei'agani</td>
<td>beiigani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 4</td>
<td>hao- to shoot</td>
<td>haogani</td>
<td>haegani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If it is to be stressed that the actions are simultaneous, the progressive marker is used on this verb:

gi- toga p- agavei-ta ne'- i- i- ga-pi igopa age-s- a- e  
path-AD them-lead- 2.PL PROG-go-PL-NI-they land see-IFUT-3.PL-IND  
while you pl will be leading them on the path, they shall see the land!

If PN₁ is a first or third person, the basis for the verb is the first and third person imperative, (cf. 2.3.2.32). The morpheme -no, however, occurs in an allomorphic form -na :

bei- da filli-na-ga-ni bade-di-ma' gagemi-di eli- na bei- g- i- e  
live-1.SG die- IM-NI-he boy- my-PIV goods- my take-3.SG live-FUT-3.SG-IND  
when, after living, I die, my son will inherit my possessions
agae-a havu-'a tele- na-ga-da eli- s- u- e
he bow- his throw away-IM-NI-I take-IFUT-1.SG-IND
he shall throw away his bow, and I will take it!

nabo-se' dagae ga- havei-na-ga-ka g- oune ho-g- an- e
therefore I you sg-chase-IM-NI-you sg you sg-flee- FUT-2.SG-IND
therefore shall I chase you, and you will run away!

pagae-a game' yale- ti f- abae-na-ga-pi la-havei-da
they fight people-our them-help-IM-NI-they us-chase-3.PL
la-hae- g- a- e they will help our enemies, and they will
us-shoot-FUT-3.PL-IND chase and kill us

Also with this form, the progressive marker may occur to denote simultaneity:
agae-a hogoto- na no'- i- na-ga-pi game' yale hae- s- a- e
he be first-3.SG PROG-go-IM-NI-they fight people shoot-IFUT-3.PL-IND
while he shall be going in front, let the enemies shoot him!

The order of the morphemes, therefore, is as follows:
*PROG + NEG + OBJ + VBS + IM + NI + PN₂*

In the paradigms, again, the PN₂ slot is occupied by the marker for the 3. person singular:

| Class 1 | havinagani |
| Class 2 | denagani |
| Class 3 | beinagani |
| Class 4 | haenagani |

2.3.3.13 Further affixing with medial verbs

Medial verb forms take additional affixes of two kinds: Markers affixed between the verb stem and the medial suffixes, and markers suffixed to the medial verb morphemes. The first kind includes the morphemes denoting repeated or prolonged action, of the second kind are the medial imperative forms, and anticipation expressed with -e'.

2.3.3.13.1 Repeated or prolonged action

Affixation occurs to the subject-identical medial verb forms. The habitual morpheme -go / -ge is suffixed once or repeatedly to the
verb stem. The distribution of the allomorphs of this marker follows the general ablaut rule of 2.3.1.1, so that it has to be assumed that the morpheme is actually a class 2 verb stem, maybe ago- to see. That morpheme may be followed by the completive marker -to- / -te- which is most probably the verb stem to- to put, being used in the same way as the short form of bolo- to put (2.3.3.11.3) to express completion. The allomorph distribution of this completive marker follows also the general ablaut rule.

The order of morphemes in this form therefore is:

+ VBS + HAB [+ HAB .... HAB ] + CPL + PN

Examples:

(back vowel allomorphs:)

\[
\text{gavu ao-da eli-da folo' ei-d- u-e I searched and found}
\]
search 1.SG take-1.SG appear- PAST-1.SG-IND

\[
\text{gavu ao-go-da eli-da folo' ei-d- u-e I searched for a while}
\]
search HAB-1.SG take-1.SG appear- PAST-1.SG-IND and found

\[
\text{gavu ao-go-to-da eli-da folo' ei-d- u-e}
\]
search HAB-CPL-1.SG take-1.SG appear- PAST-1.SG-IND

\[
I \text{ searched for a long time and found}
\]

\[
\text{gavu ao-go-to-da eli-da folo' ei-d- u-e}
\]
search HAB-HAB-CPL-1.SG take-1.SG appear- PAST-1.SG-IND

\[
I \text{ searched, and searched, and searched, and finally found}
\]

(front vowel allomorphs:)

\[
\text{gavu ae-da eli-da folo' ei-d- a-e they searched and found}
\]

\[
\text{gavu ae-ge-da eli-da folo' ei-d- a-e they searched for a}
\]
search HAB-3.PL take-3.PL appear- PAST-3.PL-IND while and found

\[
\text{gavu ae-ge-te-da eli-da folo' ei-d- a-e they searched for a}
\]

\[
\text{gavu ae-ge-ge-te-da eli-da folo' ei-d- a-e}
\]

\[
\text{they searched, and searched, and searched, and finally found}
\]

2.3.3.13.2 Medial imperative

Medial imperatives occur only in medial clauses with the final verb of the sentence being either an imperative, or a future tense verb. It
consists of an imperative verb form with the medial morphemes affixed between the verb stem and the imperative morpheme. The latter occurs only in one form, and does not show any contrast with regard to number.

Medial imperatives occur with identity and non-identity of subjects. The distribution of the verb stem allomorphs is the same as with the regular final imperative (cf. 2.3.2.31).

The order of the morphemes for the identical medial imperative is:

\[ + \text{NEG} + \text{OBJ} + \text{VBS} + \text{PN} + \text{IM} \]

Example:

\[ \text{na-} \text{loti' a'- eli- ka- o nagi vato- gati' eli- ka e- no} \]
\[ \text{that-AB} \ \text{NEG-take-2.SG-IM but other-AB} \ \text{take-2.SG come-IM} \]
\[ \text{do not take it from there, but bring it from somewhere else!} \]

Note: A transition consonant [v] or [b] may occur in between the PN marker and the imperative marker to indicate separation of syllables. So the above verb a'elikao may phonetically be [a?e'likabo].

The order of morphemes for the medial imperative with non-identity of subject is:

\[ + \text{NEG} + \text{VBS} + \text{NI} + \text{PN} + \text{IM} \]

Examples:

\[ \text{eli- ga-ta'a-o elemi- s- u'- agi} \text{ take it, and let us dl go down!} \]
\[ \text{take-NI-1.DL-IM go down-IFUT-1.DL-EMPH} \]
\[ \text{tele- ga-ta-o u- g- un- e} \text{ leave pl it, and we shall go!} \]
\[ \text{throw away-NI-1.PL-IM go-FUT-1.PL-IND} \]

2.3.3.13.3 Anticipation with -e'

This kind of anticipating verb consists of a non-identical subject verb form with the morpheme -e' affixed after the PN marker of the anticipated subject. The morpheme -e' could be interpreted as being the equation marker described in 2.1.2.9. Occurring with the medial verb, it would possibly be glossed as that being so.

\[ \text{ya} \text{le na- lo' bei- d- a- ga-da e' p- age-s- u- e} \]
\[ \text{people that-AD live-PAST-3.PL-NI-1.SG-EQ them-see-IFUT-1.SG-IND} \]
\[ \text{the people being there, I shall see them} \]
2.3.3.2 Other dependent verb forms

In this section, a number of various verb forms are dealt with, which have in common that they are non-final verbs, and can therefore never occupy a final verb slot, or at least cannot occupy that slot unless occurring in combination with another verb, as is the case with the continuatives and the combined action forms.

2.3.3.2.1 Goal nominalizing

This form which could also be termed "nominalized action", consists of the verb stem with the suffixed marker -te'na. Since it behaves completely like a noun, it has been classified as a special group in the noun class 2, and is dealt with under 2.1.2.12.

But this form has still at least one verbal aspect, which is to be dealt with in this section, and that is the distribution of stem allomorphs:

Class 1 and class 3 verb stems occur only as front vowel allomorphs except for hu- and u- which follow the general ablaut rule of 2.3.1.1.

Class 2 and class 4 verb stems follow the general ablaut rule, that means, back-vowel stem allomorphs occur for all forms associated with ego and singular persons, and front-vowel stem allomorphs for all forms associated with non-ego non-singular persons.

In this verb form, the action is nominalized, e.g.:

he'i-te'na the climbing
go up-GN

havi-te'na the listening, the knowledge
hear-GN

hao-te'na / hae-te'na the shooting
shoot-GN shoot-GN

hao-te'na-di my shooting
shoot-GN my

hae-te'na-pi their shooting
shoot-GN- their

The nominalized action forms of some verbs, however, have achieved a certain degree of semantic independence from the verb they are derived from, e.g.:
filitena the dying i.e. death
doṭena the eating i.e. food
beite'na the living i.e. life

That becomes obvious e.g. with the word doṭena, when meaning food, the front vowel never occurs:
doṭena-di my food
food- my
doṭena-pi their food
food- their

but:
pagae gaɣale de-te'na-e' havi-da lole no- s-u-e
they pig eat-GN- BEN hear-1.SG two PROG-do-1.SG-IND
I am in doubt regarding them eating the pig

Inflection of the -te'na forms is carried out as of normal class 2 nouns:
fiti-te'na-e' i-amota no-ei-e we are afraid of dying
die- GN BEN us-fear PROG-hit-3.SG-IND
hei-te'na-pi-e' with regard to their climbing
go up-GN- their-BEN

That the form has not lost its verbal character altogether, may be seen by the fact that it might occasionally be found in the predicate slot of a clause:
pagae gaɣale hei-te'na-e' with regard to them climbing or
they go up-GN- BEN as they might be climbing

2.3.3.22 Quality derivation

This form consists of the verb stem with the suffixed marker -te'. It is dealt with under 2.1.3.3, since it occurs mainly as attributive adjunct of nouns. For occurrence as predicative adjunct it carries the complementary suffix -na, and is actually the nominalized action form as discussed in the previous section. Since it also occurs in verbal function in the predicate of dependent clauses (cf. 3.2.2.15), it is also dealt with here in the verb section.

The distribution of stem allomorphs is the same as with the nominalized action forms.

In certain instances the quality derivation form may be exchangeable with the verb form carrying the pivotal marker, e.g.
fili-te' yale the dead people or the people who died
die- QD people
fili-d- a- ma' yale the people who died
die- PAST-3.PL-PIV people
pagaea fili-te-bose' because they died
tyet die- QD-MOT
pagaea fili-d- a- ma- bose' because they died
tyet die- PAST-3.PL-PIV-MOT

Occasionally, the present progressive marker is found prefixed to the quality derivation form:
ne- si- te' if you dl pl / they dl pl are saying i.e.
PROG-say-QD
ne- si- te-se' in order to say
PROG-say-QD-BEN

2.3.3.23 Actor nominalizing

The pivotal marker which occurs with nouns (cf. 2.1.2.3), very frequently also occurs with verbs, nominalizing them, and with them the whole clause in which they occur, so that then the clause may occupy a slot in a phrase.

The pivotal marker is usually affixed to a verb which is inflected for tense and subject (and may be inflected for aspect and object), and turns that verb into a kind of participle, which is, however, not only by its context, but also by its form, clearly determined with regard to tense and subject.

This actor-nominalized form is structured as follows:

+ ASP + NEG + OBJ + VBS + T + PN + PIV

It is very difficult to find an appropriate English gloss for the actor-nominalized verb form. Present tense, and especially progressive aspect forms, may be glossed by -ing, or -er, e.g.:

yo' no- k- i- ma' de the man building the house or:
house PROG-build-3.SG-PIV man the man, the house-builder

yo' no- k- u- ma' de I, the man building the house or:
house PROG-build-1.SG-PIV man the man, I, the house-builder

The most neutral gloss which could be given for this verb form, would be (P = Person)
In many instances, however, it is inevitable to translate a phrase which includes a nominalized-actor form, with a relative clause, e.g. the phrases above:

*the man who is building a house*
*I who am building the house*

It should, however, be always considered that such a relative clause can by no means truly reflect the Yagaria form and function of the actor-nominalized verb.

The pivotal marker occurs with verbs in three allomorphic forms:
- *-ma' after PN markers with open syllables (1.3.sg, 2.3.pl)*
- *-ama' after PN markers with syllables closed by glottal stop (all dual persons)*
- *-pa' after PN markers ending in \(-n\ (n + m \geq p)\) (2.sg, 1.pl)*

It may suffice here to list one paradigm for each of the four classes in present progressive and past tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>havi- to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present Progressive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>no'havuma'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>no'havipa'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>no'havima'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past tense</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>haviduma'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>havidapa'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>havidima'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 2</td>
<td>do- to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present progressive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>nodoma'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>nodapa'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>nodema'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past tense</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>doduma'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>dodapa'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>dodima'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Class 3  
be-i- to live, to sit, to stay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nobou'ma'</td>
<td>nobou'ama'</td>
<td>noboupa'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>no'beipa'</td>
<td>nebei'ama'</td>
<td>nebeima'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>no'beima'</td>
<td>nebei'ama'</td>
<td>nebeima'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>beiduma'</td>
<td>beidu'ama'</td>
<td>beidupa'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>beidapa'</td>
<td>beida'ama'</td>
<td>beidama'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>beidima'</td>
<td>beida'ama'</td>
<td>beidama'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class 4  
hao- to shoot

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>no'haoma'</td>
<td>no'hao'ama'</td>
<td>no'haopa'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>no'hapa'</td>
<td>ne'hama'ama'</td>
<td>ne'hama'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>no'haema'</td>
<td>ne'hama'ama'</td>
<td>ne'hama'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>haoduma'</td>
<td>haodu'ama'</td>
<td>haodupa'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>haodapa'</td>
<td>haeda'ama'</td>
<td>haedama'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>haodima'</td>
<td>haeda'ama'</td>
<td>haedama'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples for the occurrence of the actor-nominalized verb cf. under 3.1.1.33 and 3.2.2.15.

Another emphatic verb form (cf. 2.3.2.5) occurs which consists of the actor-nominalized verb with the equation marker suffixed to it:

age-s- u- pa- e' we shall definitely see it
see-IPUT-1.PL-PIV-EQ
no'- o- ma- e' I am indeed coming
PROG-come 1.SG-PIV-EQ

The actor-nominalized verb also serves as basis for the locational, motivational, and conditional verb forms which are dealt with in the following sections.

2.3.3.23.1 Locationals

Locational verb forms occur in locational and temporal slots of clauses. Their basic form is the actor-nominalized form on to which the locative markers in their allomorph form with initial stop are suffixed:
Adessive: -to'
Inessive: -pi'
Ablative: -toti'
Elative: -piti'

Examples:
yale b-ei ma-to' u-g-un-e we shall go to where the people sit-3.PL-PIV-AD go-FUT-1.PL-IND people are
yoti p-ou ne'-h-a ma-pi'hei-ta p-ag eo house-our their-sleep PROG-lie-3.PL-PIV-IN go up-2.PL them-see-IM PL
go pl into our house where they are sleeping, and see them!
dote'na do-d u-pa-toti'no'-on-e we are coming from food eat-PAST-1.PL-PIV-AB PROG-come 1.PL-IND where we ate food
ni' elemi d-i ma-piti'hei-na no'-e water go down-PAST-3.SG-PIV-EL go up-3.SG PROG-come 3.SG IND he is coming up out of the water into which he fell

2.3.3.23.2 Motivational

The motivational marker -bose' because is suffixed to verbs after the pivotal marker. The motivational marker can be described as being the clitic -bona matter (cf. 2.1.2.11) with the benefactive marker. Besides with verbs, the motivational marker occurs only with demonstratives, cf. 2.1.4. Motivational verb forms occur in motivational clauses of sentences.
eigava a'-ei-d u-pabose' dote'na a'-l ami-d a-e NEG-PAST-1.PL-PIV-MOT food NEG-us-give-PAST-3.PL-IND
\_\_\_\_\_

wake up-
because we did not wake up, they did not give us food

2.3.3.24 Conditionals

There are three conditionals which morphologically all depend on the pivotal marker occurring with the verb. The conditional markers are suffixed to the pivotal marker. The three conditionals have been termed real, potential, and irreal conditional. All three of them may occur with any tense.
2.3.3.24.1 Real conditional

The real conditional consists of the actor nominalized verb to which the real conditional marker -to' is suffixed. That marker may be the same morpheme as the adessive marker.

\[ + \text{ASP} + \text{NEG} + \text{OBJ} + \text{VBS} + \text{T} + \text{PN} + \text{PIV} + -to' \]

Real conditional verb forms describe actions which are real, i.e. took place, are taking place, or will take place. They occupy the verb slot in conditional or temporal clauses preceding a final clause which describes what happened, is happening, or will happen as result of the action described in the preceding clause. The tenses in the two clauses always correspond. The real conditional verb form can usually be glossed with \textit{when} in the past and future tenses, with \textit{as} in the present tense.

\begin{align*}
\text{amusa} \, \text{hav}\text{-}i\text{-}d\text{-}i\text{-}ma\text{-}to' \, o\text{-}d\text{-}i\text{-}e & \quad \text{when he heard the noise,} \\
\text{noise} \, \text{hear-PAST-3.SG-PIV-RC} \, \text{come-PAST-3.SG-IND} \, \text{he came} \\
\text{amusa} \, \text{hav}\text{-}ma\text{-}to' \, \text{no'}\text{-}e & \quad \text{as he hears the noise, he is} \\
\text{noise} \, \text{hear-PIV-RC} \, \text{PROG-come 3.SG IND} \, \text{coming} \\
\text{amusa} \, \text{no'}\text{-}hav\text{-}u\text{-pa\text{-}to' \, no'}\text{-}on\text{-}e & \quad \text{as we are hearing the} \\
\text{noise} \, \text{PROG-hear-1.PL-PIV-RC} \, \text{PROG-come 1.PL-IND} \, \text{noise, we are coming} \\
\text{age} \, \text{hav}\text{-}s\text{-}u\text{-ma\text{-}to' o\text{-}g\text{-}u\text{-}e} & \quad \text{when I hear the report,} \\
\text{report} \, \text{hear-IFUT-1.SG-PIV-RC} \, \text{come-IFUT-1.SG-IND} \, \text{I shall come} \\
\text{ge} \, \text{fapei\text{-}g\text{-}u\text{-ma\text{-}to' i\text{-}g\text{-}a\text{-}e} & \quad \text{when I tell them, they} \\
\text{word} \, \text{them tell-IFUT-1.SG-PIV-RC} \, \text{go-IFUT-3.PL-IND} \, \text{will go}
\end{align*}

2.3.3.24.2 Potential conditional

The potential conditional consists of the actor nominalized verb to which the potential conditional marker -bobo is suffixed. That potential conditional marker can be described as the clitic -bona (cf. 2.1.2.11) with the connective marker.

\[ + \text{ASP} + \text{NEG} + \text{OBJ} + \text{VBS} + \text{T} + \text{PN} + \text{PIV} + -bobo \]

Infrequently, the marker -mo occurs instead, which may be identical with the connective marker, but there is no explanation why it, after the pivotal marker which ends in a glottal stop, occurs with an initial continuant, instead of the expected stop.

Potential conditional verb forms describe an action which could have taken place, or could take place now or in the future, but it is uncertain whether it did, does, or will. The potential conditional verb
forms occupy the verb slot in conditional clauses which precede a final clause describing what happened, is happening, or will happen in case the action described in the conditional clause did, does, or will take place. The potential conditional verb can usually be glossed with in case... or if....

The tenses in the two subsequent clauses correspond with each other in such a way, that past may be followed by past, present and future, present by present and future, and future by future.

In case he heard the noise, he came:

```
amusa havi-d- i- ma- bobo o- d- i- e in case he heard the
noise hear-PAST-3.SG-PIV-PC come-PAST-3.SG-IND noise, he came
```

In case he heard the noise, he came:

```
dote'na p- ami- d- a- ma- bobo ne- d- a- e
food them-give-PAST-3.PL-PIV-PC PROG-eat-3.PL-IND
in case they gave them food, they are eating
```

In case he received the letter, he will help us:

```
pasi eli- d- i- ma- bobo la-habao-g- i- e
in case he received the letter, he will help us
```

In case I shall see them, I shall tell them:

```
page- s- u- ma- bobo fapei- g- u- e
them-see-IFUT-1.SG-PIV-PC them tell-IFUT-1.SG-IND
in case I shall see them, I shall tell them
```

In case you hear, you shall tell me:

```
ge havi-g- a- pa- bobo da-hapei-s- an- e
word hear-FUT-2.SG-PIV-PC me-tell- IFUT-2.SG-IND
in case you hear, you shall tell me!
```

2.3.3.24.3 Irreal conditional

Verb forms of this kind are often termed "contrary-to-fact" in descriptions of other NAN New Guinea languages. Two interdependent forms occur, a medial and a final one, in the verb slots of two successive clauses which make up a counterfactual sentence.

The irreal conditional describes an action which did not, does not, or will not take place, with the subsequent clause describing what would have happened, or would happen as result if the action described in the preceding clause were real.

The medial contrary-to-fact marker -tone hipana is a complex of a suffix and a free word, the latter most probably a derivation from the verb stem hu-. The marker follows after the pivotal marker, and may
occur with any person or tense. The order of morphemes for the irreal conditional medial verb can be shown thus:

\[ + \text{ASP} + \text{NEG} + \text{OBJ} + \text{VBS} + \text{T} + \text{PN} + \text{PIV} + \text{-tone hipana} \]

Examples:

- **hav-i-d- u- ma- tone hipana** (*if I would have known*)
  hear-PAST-1.SG-PIV-IRM

- **hav- u- ma- tone hipana** (*if I knew*)
  hear-1.SG-PIV-IRM

- **no'- hav- u- ma- tone hipana** (*if I were knowing*)
  PROG hear-1.SG-PIV-IRM

- **havi-s- u- ma- tone hipana** (*if I should know*)
  hear-IFUT-1.SG-PIV-IRM

- **havi-g- u- ma- tone hipana** (*if I should know*)
  hear FUT-1.SG-PIV-IRM

The final contrary-to-fact markers are suffixed directly on to the verb stem. All verbs of all classes occur only as front vowel allomorphs in this verbal form.

There are two sets of final contrary-to-fact markers. The one set consists only of one marker: \(-\text{sine}^36\) which is the same for all persons and numbers. The other set distinguishes dual and non-dual: \(-\text{ne hine}\) for singular and plural persons, \(-\text{ene hine}\) for dual persons. Both sets are mutually exchangeable. The free word \text{hine} is most probably a derivation from the verb stem \text{hu-}.

The irreal conditional final verb form is therefore indeterminate with regard to tense and person, it may be determinate with regard to number. Personal pronouns preceding the verb, may specify it with regard to person and number.

- **dagaea de- sine** (*I would have eaten, or I would eat*)
  I eat-IRF

- **dagaea de- ne hine** (*I would have eaten, or I would eat*)
  I eat-IRF

- **tagaea bei-sine** (*they dl would have stayed, or they dl would stay*)
  they dl sit-IRF

- **tagaea bei-ene hine** (*they dl would have stayed, or they dl would stay*)
  they dl sit-IRF
The sequence of two irreal conditional clauses is determinate with regard to tense by the medial clause. The medial clause also determines the subject of the clause if it is identical.

If the subjects in the two successive clauses are non-identical, the subject in the final clause is often indicated by a pronoun:

If they would come to our village, we would feed them.

The final irreal conditional verb may occur independent of the conditional medial form, either in an isolated clause, or preceded by a "general" medial clause.

We should eat/should have eaten pork

Had you let us, we should dwell in a good land.

2.3.3.25 Anticipation and purpose (cf. also 2.3.3.13.3)

There are two morphemes, -ge' and -me'/-ame'/-pe', which usually occur with the intentional future tense, to express anticipation, purpose, or aim. Anticipatory verb forms occur in the verb slot of purpose or aim clauses sentence medially.

The morpheme -ge' which may be glossed to, in order to, in order that, is suffixed to the intentional future indicative verb. The order of morphemes is:

+ NEG + OBJ + VBS + IFUT + PN + IND + -ge'

dote'na e1i- na folo' ei-s- i- e- ge' hoya no'- el- i- e


He is working in order to find food.
he commanded me not to eat the bananas

Infrequently, -ge' may also be suffixed to imperative forms or present tense forms, the latter, however, without the indicative marker:

he did not tell you to do a big job

The morpheme -me' / -ame' / -pe' is suffixed after the PN marker of the intentional future tense, making the order of morphemes as follows:

NEG OBJ VBS IFUT PN ANT

The allomorphs of this marker show the following distribution:

-me' after open syllables (1.3. sg, 2.3. pl)
-ame' after syllables closed by glottal stop (all persons dl)
-pe' after syllables closed by n : n + m > p (2.sg, 1.pl)

This morpheme has exactly the same meaning and function as -ge', and can be glossed to, in order to, in order that.
2.3.3.26 Verb combinations

The verb forms described in the following sections, could be regarded as compound verbs (2.3.5), as their first parts have in common with verb adjuncts that they are not inflected except for allomorphic changes between front and back vowels.

However, the first parts of these combinations, though always closely linked with the "auxiliary" verbs, and always occurring in one and the same clause, are derived from verb roots, and are therefore dealt with in this section of the grammar.

The auxiliaries (hu-, u-, and, less frequently, o-) may assume any verb form (mood, aspect, tense), are fully inflected, and may occur as medial or final verbs.

Verb Combinations described in the following, are two continuatives, and combined actions.

2.3.3.26.1 Aspectual continuative

The aspectual continuative describes long-lasting actions. The aspectual continuative verb form consists of the verb stem with suffixed aspectual continuative marker followed by a fully inflected form of the verbs u- or o-.

\[ + \text{NEG} + \text{OBJ} + \text{VBS} + \text{ACT} + u-/o- \]

The aspectual continuative marker has two allomorphs, -mo and -me which in their distribution follow the general ablaut rule set out in 2.3.1.1: Back vowel allomorphs with all singular and all ego persons, front vowel allomorphs with all non-singular non-ego persons.

Verb stem allomorphs occur as follows:

- Class 1 and class 3 verb stems occur as front vowel allomorphs throughout, except for hu- and u- which follow the general ablaut rule.
- Class 2 and class 4 verbs follow the general ablaut rule of 2.3.1.1.

The "auxiliaries" u- and o- are normally inflected (cf. 2.3.6: Irregular verbs), u- may occur in any tense, o- in any but future tenses.

\[ \text{be}-\text{mo u-} \text{na} \text{ fill-} \text{d-} \text{ i-} \text{ e} \quad \text{after he lived for a long time,} \]
\[ \text{live-} \text{ACT go-3.SG} \text{ die-} \text{ PAST-3.SG-IND} \quad \text{he died} \]
\[ \text{hoya eli-} \text{ me i-} \text{ d-} \text{ a-} \text{ e} \quad \text{they worked for a long time} \]
\[ \text{work make-} \text{ACT go-PAST-3.PL-IND} \]
\[ \text{a}'i \text{ dote'na do-} \text{ mo u-} \text{ ta bei-} \text{ g-} \text{ un-} \text{ e} \quad \text{we shall be eating that} \]
\[ \text{food eat-} \text{ACT go-1.PL} \text{ live-} \text{FUT-1.PL-IND} \quad \text{food} \]
occurs usually with past and present tense, expressing that the action extended over a long period toward the present time:

\[
\begin{align*}
a'\text{i ge havi-mo o- da bei- d- u- e} & \text{ I kept hearing that word hear-ACT come-1.SG live-PAST-1.SG-IND talk} \\
a'\text{i ge havi-mo no'- o- e} & \text{ I have been hearing that talk that word hear-ACT PROG-come 1.SG-IND} \\
a'\text{i ge havi-me ne- a- e} & \text{ they have been hearing that word hear-ACT PROG-come 3.PL-IND talk}
\end{align*}
\]

2.3.3.26.2 Habitual continuative

The habitual continuative describes actions habitually or customarily performed. The habitual continuative verb form consists of the verb stem with suffixed habitual continuative marker followed by a repetition of itself, and a fully inflected form of the verb hu-.

\[
+ [\pm \text{NEG} + \text{OBJ} + \text{VBS} + \text{HCT}] + [\pm \text{NEG} + \text{OBJ} + \text{VBS} + \text{HCT}] + \text{hu-}
\]

The habitual continuative marker has the two allomorphs -go and -ge which are distributed according to the general ablaut rule of 2.3.1.1. (it is obviously the same morpheme as the "habitual" morpheme described in 2.3.3.13.1).

The verb stem allomorphs are distributed as follows: Class 1 and class 3 verb stems occur as front vowel allomorphs throughout, except for hu- and u- which follow the general ablaut rule. Class 2 and 4 verb stem allomorphs follow the general ablaut rule.

\[
\begin{align*}
a'\text{i ge hu- go hu- go no- s- u- e} & \text{ I say that all the time that word say-HCT say-HCT PROG-do-1.SG-IND} \\
a'\text{i ge hi- ge hi- ge ne- s- a- e} & \text{ they say that all the time that word say-HCT say-HCT PROG-do-3.PL-IND} \\
bogoko' dote'na do- go do- go no- s- i- e & \text{ he eats one kind of food eat-HCT eat-HCT PROG-do-3.SG-IND food all the time} \\
a'\text{i hoya eli- ge eli- ge ne- s- a- e} & \text{ they do that work all the time that work make-HCT make-HCT PROG-do-3.PL-IND time} \\
agaea buki vita' o- go o- go no- s- i- e & \text{ he comes all the time come-HCT come-HCT PROG-do-3.SG-IND time} \\
pagaea buki vita' e- ge e- ge ne- s- a- e & \text{ they come all the time they all time come-HCT come-HCT PROG-do-3.PL-IND time}
\end{align*}
\]
2.3.3.26.3 Simultaneous Actions

Verb forms of combined actions involve two corresponding verbs. The marker of Simultaneous action is the habitual continuative morpheme -go / -ge, and the verb form follows the structure of the habitual continuative. Verb stem allomorphs have the same distribution as described in 2.3.3.26.2, only that the verb havi- to hear, may be influenced by its occurrence together with hu- to say, follows the general ablaut rule.

\[\text{ge hu- go havu-go no- s- u'- e we dl are conversing}\]
\[\text{word say-HCT hear-HCT PROG-do-1.DL-IND}\]
\[\text{ge hi- ge havi-ge ne- s- a- e they are conversing}\]
\[\text{word say-HCT hear-HCT PROG-do-3.PL-IND}\]
\[\text{gi- ba' ei- go gagi-go no- s- i- e the path is winding}\]
\[\text{path-PIV hit-HCT bend-HCT PROG-do-3.SG-IND}\]

2.3.3.26.4 Successive Repeated Actions

Again two corresponding verbs are involved. The marker of this kind of action is the completion morpheme -lo / -le as described in 2.3.3.11.3 with its allomorph distribution following the general ablaut rule. The verb form in its structure follows the pattern of the habitual continuative (cf. 2.3.3.26.2):

\[\text{Verb stem allomorphs occur in their distribution as described in 2.3.3.26.2.}\]
\[\text{hao- lo heti- lo hu-d- i- e he slept and got up (many times)}\]
\[\text{sleep-CPL get up-CPL do-PAST-3.SG-IND}\]
\[\text{hao- lo heti- lo hu-na u- d- i- e}\]
\[\text{sleep-CPL get up-CPL do-3.SG go-PAST-3.SG-IND}\]
\[\text{he walked for many day (sleeping and waking, he walked on)}\]
\[\text{hao- lo heti- lo hu-mo u- na yo- to' va'yu hu-d- i- e}\]
\[\text{sleep-CPL get up-CPL do-ACT go-3.SG house-AD arrive- PAST-3.SG-IND}\]
\[\text{after he had walked for many days, (sleeping and waking), he arrived at home}\]
\[\text{elemi- le hei- de-le ne- s- a- e they are going down and up}\]
\[\text{go down-CPL go up-?- CPL PROG-do-3.PL-IND}\]
2.3.3.27 Referent Action

The marker with the allomorphs -ese', -'ese', and -gese' links together verb actions which may be successive or simultaneous. This marker may, depending on the verb to which it is suffixed, be glossed as while, when, or if.

The allomorphs of this marker occur as follows:
-ese' and -'ese' with medial verb forms, and -gese' suffixed to the verb stem.
-ese' and -'ese' could be either identical with the comitative marker, (2.1.2.7) or else with the morpheme described in 2.3.3.13.3 plus benefactive marker. The allomorph -ese' is usually regressively assimilated with the vowel preceding it:
beidiganesebo while he was living
live-PAST-3.SG-NI-3.SG-ese-CON

but: ne'-a'-aga-ni-'ese-bo while they dt are/were coming,
PROG-come 3.DL-NI-3.SG-'ese-CON he...

The allomorph -gese' (the initial g- may be identical with the future tense marker) occurs suffixed to the verb stem, or to the PN marker of a final verb:
lugo-'a gitegi-gese' h- i- ga-ni ve bogo-ma' gea' ao-na
neck-his cut- gese' do-3.SG-NI-3.SG man one- PIV call 3.SG
to- d- i- e while he was about to cut his neck,
put-PAST-3.SG-IND another man called him
gagaeo eli- ka da-hato- ka da-to- gese- bo da-t- o
you take-2.SG me-stroke-2.SG me-put-gese'-CON me-put-IM
if you are going to stroke me, stroke me
i- da su he- d- i- gese' gata'
go-3.PL finish-PAST-3.SG-gese' like
it is like all of them having gone

2.3.4 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs occupy the verb slot in transitive clauses. Transitivity of a verb may be indicated
by preceding object, or
by object prefix, or
by compounding which makes an intransitive verb transitive, or
by any combination of the preceding three processes.
2.3.4.1 Transitive Verbs without Prefixation

A great number of transitive verbs never occurs with the prefixed object marker. One reason for it is that many transitive verbs occur only with inanimates as objects, that means the grammatical object for those would be the 3. person singular, and therefore the object marker is zero.

Examples for such verbs are:

- bao- to pick, to harvest
- bolo- to put (inanimates)
- dakei- to swallow
- do- to eat
- fagani- to sew
- fei- to pierce, to plant
- gafafei- to hollow out
- gali- to plant
- gano- to grind
- gao- to burn, to cook
- gavi- to dig
- gi- to build, to fasten
- gitegi- to cut off
- govi- to carry on shoulder (men) or head (women)
- hanî- to chew
- heteli- to fell
- hevi- to fetch
- lagei- to cut off
- legi- to chop
- poloti- to split
- tagao- to break off
- talo- to unfold
- vakéi- to pull out of the ground
- yagano- to divide out
- yakei- to spread out

(the list is by far not exhaustive)

Clause examples:

- ya' bae- ta ga- eo pick pl taro and cook them!
- taro pick-2.PL cook-IM PL
- a- ba' guke ae faga-no' n- i- e the woman is sewing up the
  woman-PIV cloth -PROG- 3.SG-IND cloth
  sew-
hamu-ma' igopa gafafei- d- i- e the rat dug a hole in the
rat- PIV ground hollow out-PAST-3.SG-IND ground

ni' hevi- ka d- o fetch water and drink!
water fetch-2.SG eat-IM SG

hali poloti-s- u'- e let us dl split firewood
firewood split- IFUT-1.DL-IND

There are other transitive verbs which, though occurring with
animates, never carry the object prefix. That prefix is then carried
by the following verb to- which acts as an auxiliary as it becomes the
object carrier for the preceding verb. (cf. 2.3.4.21)

Examples for such verbs are:
eli- to take
galopao- to take off
gei- to care for, to look after
tikao- to cover, to veil
vei- to wrap

(for clause examples, cf. under 2.3.4.21)

2.3.4.11 Transitivity by compounding

Some verbs which are basically intransitive, can be made trans-
sitive by compounding with other verbs which have a transitive meaning,
and apply that meaning to the intransitive verb. The "transitivizer"
verb precedes the "transitivized" verb, occurring in medial subject-
identical form. The most frequently occurring "transitivizer" verbs
are ao- to step, to tread, bolo- to put, and eli- to take, to make.
Besides that, ei- to hit occurs very infrequently (it more often serves
for making transitive verbs intransitive, cf. 2.3.5.2). begi- to beat,
and fei- to pierce occur occasionally to turn intransitive verbs
transitive.

Examples:

ao- dolopao- to break by stepping from dolopao- to break v1
ao- hálol to lighten from hálol- to be light
ao- heti- to erect from heti- to stand up
ao- takolo- to peel off from takolo- to peel v1
begi- agotavei- to knock to the ground from agotavei- to fall to the
ground

bolo- gabao- to attach from gabao- to stick
bolo- lapanao- to push down from lapanao- to sink
ei- pokao- to break from pokao- to break vi
eli- falaki- to hide vt from falaki- to hide vi
eli- goli- to tip over from goli- to roll over
eli- heti- to erect from heti- to stand up
eli- o- to bring from o- to come
eli- tegino- to return s.th. from tegino- to turn vi
fei- saga hu- to lift up from saga hu- to rise

Clause examples:
yava gopa ao- da dolopao-d- u- e I broke the branch by stepping
tree branch step-1.SG break- PAST-1.SG-IND on it
gani- ba' yo' ao- na ha-no'- l- e the torch is lighting up
torch-PIV house step-3.SG -PROG- 3.SG IND the house
be light-
yava' eli- ta goli- s- un- e let us tip the stone over!
stone take-1.PL roll over-IFUT-1.PL-IND

It may be noted here, especially since the above list of verbs
cannot be exhaustive in the framework of this grammar, that compounding
of the above kind may sometimes be semantically intransitive, especially
the compound with ao-, since the gloss to step, to tread may often be
interpreted as intransitive.

2.3.4.2 Transitive verbs with object prefixes

Object prefixes are short forms of personal pronouns, and are
described in 2.1.1.22. They may occur with any transitive verb which
has animates as objects. The affixation of the marker occurs either
direct to the verb stem, or else to the auxiliary verb to-.

Examples for verbs which take an object marker prefixed directly
to their stem, are:

aeli- to show
afolo- to take away
agaso- to surpass
agavei- to lead
agei- to look after
ago- to see
ami- to give
begi- to beat
ei- to beat
habao- to help
hako- to recognize
hao- to shoot
hapei- to tell
hato- to stroke
havei- to chase
to- to put (animates)
tolo- to throw away, to leave
vakei- to butcher, to slaughter
vato- to find, to meet

The prefixation goes always direct to the stem with no other prefix being inserted between the object marker and the stem. Poly-syllabic stems which infix the negation and aspect markers (cf. 2.3.1.5 and 2.3.2.21.2), prefix the object marker to the first part of the stem. Examples:

Monosyllabic: hao- to shoot
da-hao- d- i- e he shot me
me-shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND
no- da-h- a- e he is shooting me
PROG-me-shoot-3.SG-IND
a- da-h- a- e he does not shoot me
NEG-me-shoot-3.SG-IND
no'- a'- da-h- a- e he is not shooting me
PROG-NEG-me-shoot-3.SG-IND

Polysyllabic: agavei- to lead
d- agavei-d- i- e he lead me
me-lead- PAST-3.SG-IND
d- aga-no'- v - ei- e he is leading me
me- _____PROG- 3.SG-IND
lead-
d- aga'-a'- v- ei- e he does not lead me
me- _____NEG- 3.SG-IND
lead

d- aga-no'- a'- v - ei- e he is not leading me
me- _____PROG-NEG- 3.SG-IND
lead-
Clause examples:

game de- ma' ougegesa gave- loti' da-begi-d- i- e
fight man-PIV big stick-INST me-beat-PAST-3.SG-IND
the enemy beat me with a big stick

go' p- ei- d- i- e the rain hit them
rain them-hit-PAST-3.SG-IND

soko yo' ne- k- i- ma- bose' fabae- s- un- e
good house PROG-build-3.SG-PIV-MOT them help-IPUT-1.PL-IND
because they are building a nice house, let us help them

hemeti gayale sole'na pa'- va'-no- k-oun- e
now pig plenty them- PROG- 1.PL-IND

 butcher-
today we are butchering many pigs

Some verbs, which can be termed "bitransitive", occur with two objects\(^{37}\), inanimate and animate, the first indicated by a free word, the latter by a prefix, and optionally a free word:

avo- di-ma' igopa d- aeli-d- i- e my father showed me the
father-my-PIV ground me-show-PAST-3.SG-IND ground

tikisa de- ma' hagita p- afo-lo- d- i- e
teacher man-PIV knife them-take away-PAST-3.SG-IND
the teacher took the knife away from them

hava de agaea yale hage p- ami- d- i- e
albino man he people salt them-give-PAST-3.SG-IND
the white man gave the people salt

vato' ge bogo ga- hapei-g- u- e I shall tell you something else
other word one you-tell- FUT-1.SG-IND

2.3.4.21 Object markers prefixed to the verb to-

As quite a number of verb stems do not prefix the object marker, the verb to- to put, to place (animates only) follows such verbs as an auxiliary. The preceding verb which always occurs as medial verb with identical subject marker, carries the semantics of this verb-verb compound, whereas to- occurs as carrier of the object.

The verbs occurring in this kind of construction, show a number of different features, and may therefore be categorized as follows:

The verbs listed in the last paragraph of 2.3.4.1, just use the verb to- to indicate their object:
The woman has borne a boy

I am looking after the children

They wrapped me with a cloth

Other verbs use the auxiliary to indicate an animate object beside the inanimate which occurs as a free word.

Verbs of this category are:

- afei- to carry hanging from the shoulder
- afei- to hang on to s.o.'s shoulder
- bosi- to refuse
- bosi- to prohibit
- folo- to rub
- folo- to rub on to s.o.
- gani- to close
- gani- to exclude s.o.
- lekapei- to count
- lekapei- to promise

Clause examples:

I am carrying my netbag hanging from the shoulder

He is hanging his netbag on to my shoulder

He refused the food
dote'na bosina no'- lapa- to- e I am forbidding you pl to food refuse-1.SG PROG-you pl-put-1.SG-IND eat
tyoka-lekeno- prei- he is counting the houses
house PROG-3.SG-IND
count-
a'isiigopalekapei-na pa- to- di- e he promised them that
to land count 3.SG them-put-PAST-3.SG-IND land

The verbs made transitive by compounding, (cf. 2.3.4.11), do not suffix the object marker direct, but use the auxiliary:
yege-ma'ao- na halo- na no'- la-t- e
sun-PIV tread-3.SG be light-3.SG PROG-us-put-3.SG IND
the sun is illuminating us
dagaea game de begi-da agotavei- da 6- to- d- u- e
I fight man beat-1.SG fall to ground-1.SG him-put-PAST-1.SG-IND
I knocked the enemy dead to the ground
bade yuva yo- ti- vi' eli- ta falakita pa- to- d- un- e
boy group house-our-IN take-1.PL hide-1.PL them-put-PAST-1.PL-IND
we hid the boys in our house
meba de eli- da heti- da 6- te- d- a- e
they elected a member (of the House of Assembly)

Some intransitive verbs are made transitive simply by being compounded with to-:
bubolo- to be astonished
bubolo- to-
to praise
eida'hu- to spit
eida'hu- to-
to spit at s.o.
hegoto- to be first
hegoto- to-
to put s.o. in front
hago- to be well
hago- to-
to show kindness

Clause examples:
Iopa yale bubolo- ta no- pa- t- on- e we are praising
aged people be astonished-1.PL PROG-them-put-1.PL-IND the old people
hegoto- na lapa- te- s- i- e  he shall put you pl in front
be first-3.SG you pl-put-PUT-3.SG-IND

Note: The auxiliary to- is also used for expressing what
in English would be glossed as benefactive action:

havili yagita hu-na da-to- d- i- e
meal prepare- 3.SG me-put-PAST-3.SG-IND

he prepared a meal for me

Double indication of the object by prefixes, referring to one
and the same object, occurs infrequently with compound verbs, e.g.:

a ei- to-  to bind to silence
ageta eli- to-  to admonish
hao- gagupao- to-  to shoot down
hao- gi- to-  to shoot dead

Clause examples:

hoya-ti eli- s- u- pe' l- ageta eli- da la-te- d- a- e
work-our make-IPUT-1.PL-ANT us-ear take-3.PL us-put-PAST-3.PL-IND
they admonished us to do our work

hali- loti' ga- hao- da gagupao- da ga- to- g- u- e
arrow-INST you-shoot-1.SG fall over-1.SG you-put-PUT-1.SG-IND
I shall shoot you down with an arrow

2.3.4.3 Impersonal constructions

There are verbs in Yagaria which are structurally transitive, but
not semantically. Structurally, the subject in such verbs is the 3.
person singular. Semantically, it is an animate which in the structure
occurs as object. That semantic subject becomes obvious as subject in
medial clauses where the identity of the subject with an animate is
usually shown by the medial verb form. (see clause examples below)

Some of these verbs are:

amu' lo-  to be sore
anu' tegi-  to have headache
eise ao-  to sweat
eiya lo'ao-  to be lame
agavu gi-  to ache
agekani-  to forget
amota ei-  to be afraid
amu hu-  to suffice
hei' vei-  to be angry
alaga hao- to be bored
gei hei- to be sick
gugo' hao- to cough
tete hei- to tremble
gei hāgo- to recover

All of these verbs are compound verbs, also agekani which consists of agé, a basic form of the word ageta ear, and gani- to close. All these verbs belong into the group of verbs described in 2.3.5.1, but because of their special status as structurally transitive verbs, they are dealt with in this section.

The verbs of the first two groups prefix their object marker to the preceding verb adjunct, the verbs of the last group prefix them to the auxiliary.

Adjuncts of the first group can be explained as nouns which are inalienably possessed by prefixation:

damuna my sore
danuna my head
daise my sweat
deiya my leg

These adjuncts become the subject of expressions like:

d- amu' no- da-l- e my sore is burning i.e. I am sore
my-sore PROG-me-burn-3.SG IND

d- anu' no- teg- i- e my head is splitting i.e. I am suffering
my-head PROG-split-3.SG-IND from headache

d- eise no- a- e my sweat is coming forth i.e. I am sweating
my-sweat PROG-tread-3.SG IND

d- eiya lo'-no'- a-e my leg is bending i.e. I am lame
my-leg bend-

The prefixes with the second group cannot as easily be explained except maybe

d- age- no- kan- i- e my ear is closing i.e. I am forgetting
my-(ear)-PROG-close-3.SG-IND

Rather, they have to be glossed as follows:

d- agavu no- k- i- e pain is gripping me i.e. I am feeling
me-pain PROG-fasten-3.SG-IND pain
fear is striking me i.e. I am afraid
me-fear PROG-hit-3.SG IND

sufficiency is extended to me i.e.
me-sufficiency PROG-do-3.SG-IND I am satisfied

ger is enveloping me i.e. I am angry
me-anger PROG-wrap-3.SG-IND

In the same way, verbs of the third group which have transitive verbs with direct object prefixation as auxiliaries, have to be glossed:

boredom is piercing me i.e. I am bored
alaga no- da-h- a- e boredom PROG-me-shoot-3.SG-IND

sickness is taking hold of me i.e. I am sick
gei no- da-h- ei- e sickness PROG-me-do-3.SG-IND I am sick

cough is piercing me i.e. I am coughing

cough PROG-me-shoot-3.SG-IND

trembling is taking hold of me i.e.
trembling PROG-me-do-3.SG-IND I am trembling

my sickness it has gone well with
sicknes-my me-be well-PAST-3.SG-IND me 1.e. I have recovered

The prevalence of the semantic subject becomes obvious in sentence medial position of these verbs as quite often the grammatical subject is overruled by the semantic subject, and the identity of the latter with the animate subject of the following clause is shown.

Of the examples listed hereunder, the ones marked with an asterisk are not ungrammatical, but their pattern is not as frequently used as the other one.

dagae-se' lap- agekani-ta da-tele- d- a- e
I- BEN you pl-forget- 2.PL me-leave-PAST-2.PL-IND
you pl forgot about me, and left me

* dagae-se' lap- agekan-i- ga-tapi da-tele- d- a- e
I- BEN you pl-forget-3.SG-NI-you pl me-leave-PAST-2.PL-IND
you pl forgot about me, and left me

I was angry, and abused him

* I was angry, and abused him
I recovered, and am well now

Some verbs may occur equally in a personal or an impersonal construction, e.g.:

oubibi' hu- to be tired
d-oubibi no- s-i- e I am tired
me-tired PROG-do-3.SG-IND
d-oubibi' no- s-u- e I am tired
I-tired PROG-do-1.SG-IND

hei' vei- to be angry
da-hei' no'-v- ei- e I am angry
me-anger PROG-wrap-3.SG-IND
da-hei' no'-v- ou- e I am angry
I- anger PROG-wrap-1.SG-IND

2.3.4.4 Reciprocal actions

Only two verbs are known which can express reciprocity in a special construction. They are ami- to give, and nuki- to embrace.

i'ami a'ami hu- to give to each other, to exchange
i'nuki a'nuki hu- to embrace each other

These two, as well as the verb lole ho- to help each other, which has also a reciprocal meaning, are actually compound verbs as discussed in 2.3.5.

Move yale- 'ese' Ologuti yale- 'e' ana i'ami a'ami ne- s-a- e
Move people-COM Ologuti people-COM woman PROG-3.PL-IND
give each other-
the Move people and the Ologuti people exchange women (intermarry)

ve lole tagaa i-nuki a'nuki hi- d- a'- e
man two they dl embrace each other-PAST-3.DL-IND
the two men embraced each other
we are helping each other with food-

help each other-

For close-knit verb phrases to express reciprocity, cf. 3.1.2.2.

Reduplication of the emphatic pronoun is also a way of expressing reciprocity, even in cases where the verb is intransitive:

you pl- yourselves do pl not fight against each other!

they- themselves they- themselves live-PAST-3.PL-IND

Otherwise reciprocal actions have to be described in sentences involving at least two clauses (cf. Syntax, 3.3.1.2).

2.3.4.5 Reflexive Actions

An action in which the actor is also the object, may be expressed with the noun ouva body, e.g.

I hit myself

wash yourself!

2.3.5 Compound verbs

More than half of the verbs occurring in Yagaria, are compound verbs. There are different kinds of compounds:

Adjunct-auxiliary compounds,
Verb-verb compounds,
Complex compounds, e.g. verb-adjunct-auxiliary.

2.3.5.1 Adjunct-auxiliary compounds

The bulk of compound verbs are of this type. This kind of compound occurs in similar forms also in other NAN languages of New Guinea, and has been termed in its descriptions e.g. "Complex verb"39, "Periphrastic verb complex"40, "Predication"41.

These verbs consist of a complex of two words:
A non-inflected word, termed adjunct, which carries the meaning of the compound, and
A fully inflected verb which in many cases loses its original meaning completely, and becomes the mere carrier of the verbal functions of the compound, an "auxiliary verb".
The adjuncts are usually associated with one auxiliary verb only, though there are some exceptions, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjunct</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hetama bolo-</td>
<td>to divide out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetama ei-</td>
<td>to divide out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetama vei-</td>
<td>to divide out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tete hu-</td>
<td>to tremble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tete hei-</td>
<td>to tremble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hou' ei-</td>
<td>to protect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hou' hu-</td>
<td>to be sad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go' ei-</td>
<td>to rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go' eli-</td>
<td>to dawn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Morphologically, most of these compound verbs cannot be distinguished from object-verb structures, and it may well be that these adjunct-auxiliary compounds originally were object-verb structures, which eventually developed into independent verbs of this form. As illustration for that possibility two clauses containing the noun hoka plug may serve:

```
   go-  pi'  hoka no- k- u- e   I am putting a plug into the
   bamboo-IN  plug  PROG-fasten-1.SG-IND  bamboo tube
          LOC     OBJ     VB

   go'  hoka no- k-u- e   I am plugging up the bamboo
   bamboo    plug up-
            OBJ     VB
```

2.3.5.11 The adjunct

Many of the words occurring as adjuncts, are so closely attached to the compound, that they do not occur in any other function. Examples for those compounds are:
gigi hu- to laugh
dupu hu- to gather
fuvu hu- to blow
pe hu- to bow
va'yu hu- to arrive
vuyu hu- to pull
gini ei- to nod
dogosa ei- to swim
galu' ho- to untie
gapu ao- to stir
agavu gi- to ache

Other words, however, may occur apart from the verb compound as substantive-like words (nouns or adjectives), e.g.:

aepa hu- to begin
aepa beginning, origin, essence
Ologuti yale- 'i' aepa havi-d- u- e
Ologuti people-REL essence know-PAST-1.SG-IND
I know what the Ologuti people are like

bina fei- to buy
bina price
havu-ma' bina- 'a dabegine
bow- PIV price-its how much
what is the price of the bow?

eigava ei- to wake up vi
eigava new
eigava bade abade sukulu yo- pi' hei- d- a- e
new boy girl school house-IN go up-PAST-3.PL-IND
the new children went into the school

eida' ho- to spit
eida' hu- to spit
eidana saliva
ni' eidana foam
water saliva
aleta fei- to kneel
    aleta  knee
    hali- loti' d- aleta-vi' da-hao- d- i- e
    arrow-INST my-knee- IN me-shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND
    he hit me with an arrow in the knee

haku ei- to fly
    haku  wing
    nama haku-'a lo'ao-d- i- e
    bird wing-its bend-PAST-3.SG-IND
    the bird's wing is broken

The only affixation an adjunct may take, is the prefixation of a
pronoun marker. That pronoun marker may indicate either the acting
person, or the object.
Examples for indication of subject:
d-eida' no- s-o- e  I am spitting
   I- PROG- 1.SG-IND
    spit-
    p- aleta fei-d- a- e they knelt
    they-kneel- PAST-3.PL-IND
l- ago'yu ei-d- un- e  we were angry
    we-be angry- PAST-1.PL-IND
    hu-da  d-ageta no- s-u- e  I am remembering
    -1.SG I PROG- 1.SG-IND
    remember-
    d-oune ho-d- u- e  I fled
    I-flee  PAST-1.SG-IND

Examples for indication of object:
da-tava hu-d- i- e he grabbed me
    me-grab  PAST-3.SG-IND
da-vyu hi-d- a- e they pulled (invited) me
    me-pull  PAST-3.PL-IND
    d- agebu' gi- d- i- e he carried me on his back
    me-carry on back-PAST-3.SG-IND
he is reminding me

I woke them up

The auxiliary

The most common auxiliary is hu- to be, to say, to do. Besides it, the following verbs have been observed as auxiliaries in compound verbs:

- ei- to hit
- ho- to hit
- ao- to tread
- eli- to take
- bolo- to put
- fei- to pierce
- vei- to wrap
- gi- to fasten
- lo- to burn
- to- to put (animates)
- hei- to do to s.o.
- hao- to shoot
- hago- to be well
- nagei- to be on alert
- gao- to burn

These verbs quite often lose their original and independent meaning completely when taking up their position as auxiliaries.

The auxiliary verbs are usually fully inflected, carrying any of the verb affixes, as tense, aspect, mood, person-number, and negation. They may occur in any final or medial position verb form.

Though pronoun markers, especially object markers with transitive and impersonal verbs, usually occur prefixed to the adjunct, some auxiliaries may occasionally occur with such prefixation:

dote'na-e' haga' no- da-h- ei- e I like the food
food- BEN tasty PROG-me-do-3.SG-IND

I was bored
boredom me-shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND

e had a cough
cough me-do- PAST-3.SG-IND
If neither the adjunct nor the auxiliary occur with the object prefix, the verb to- is used for further compounding to indicate the object:

galu' ho-ta pa- to- d- un- e \hspace{1em} \text{we untied them}
untie \hspace{1em} 1.PL them-put-PAST-1.PL-IND

gayagei-ta no- ka- t- on- e \hspace{1em} \text{we are watching you}
watch- \hspace{1em} 1.PL PROG-you-put-1.PL-IND

loka' hi-da da-te- d- a- e \hspace{1em} \text{they asked me}
ask \hspace{1em} 3.PL me-put-PAST-3.PL-IND

Double prefixation may occur occasionally, and can indicate the following:

Either the acting person with adjunct and auxiliary:

d-eipa da- ha'-no- k- o- e \hspace{1em} \text{I am tender-hearted}
I- \hspace{1em} I- \hspace{1em} PROG- \hspace{1em} 1.SG-IND

\hspace{1em} tender-hearted-

Or the object with adjunct and auxiliary:

p- ageta eli-na pa- to- d- i- e \hspace{1em} \text{he admonished them}
them- \hspace{1em} 3.SG them- -PAST-3.SG-IND

\hspace{1em} admonish-

Or the acting person with the adjunct, and the object with the auxiliary:

p- eini' ne- da-h- ei- e \hspace{1em} \text{they are disgusting me}
they-disgust \hspace{1em} PROG-me-do-3.SG-IND

d-aketa ei-da pa- to-d- u- e \hspace{1em} \text{I turned my back on them}
I- \hspace{1em} 1.SG them- \hspace{1em} PAST-1.SG-IND

\hspace{1em} turn back-

2.3.5.2 Verb-verb compound

The chaining of verb stems directly to each other hardly ever occurs in Yagaria. Therefore if two or more verbs are compounded, they all have to be inflected which means that all but the last occur as obligatory medial verbs.
Examples:

ao- da gasili-d- u- e I stepped into something soft
step-1.SG decay- PAST-1.SG-IND

yo- pi' bele-da eli-da bei-d- a- e
they sit closely squeezed together in the house

ba lo- na sogo-d- i- e the sweet potato burned
sweet potato -3.SG PAST-3.SG-IND on one side
burn on one side-

Negation occurs always with the last verb of the compound to negate the whole compound:

eiva- vi' ao- da a- kasili-d- u- e I did not step into the
faeces-IN step-1.SG NEG-decay- PAST-1.SG-IND faeces

Object prefixation with transitive verb-verb compounds occurs always with the last verb:

game yale yo- pi' bei- ga-pi gae- da pa sagali-d-
fight people house-IN sit 3.PL-NI-they burn-3.PL them-burn- PAST-
a- e
3.PL-IND

while the enemies sat in the house, they burned them

Intransitive verbs which may be turned transitive by compounding with a preceding transitive verb, are described under 2.3.4.11. The opposite process of turning transitive into intransitive verbs takes place through compounding with the verb ei- to hit.

Note: This verb which is basically transitive, may at times turn intransitive verbs transitive, or by compounding just intensify the meaning of a verb which is already transitive or intransitive.

Examples: galopao- to take off
ei- galopao- to come off
lo'ao- to break into pieces vt
ei- lo'ao- to break up vi
tikao- to cover
ei- tikao- to hide vi
yahae' hu- to turn vt
ei- yahae' hu- to turn around vi
galu' ho- to untie
ei- galu' ho- to come loose (rope)
2.3.5.3 Complex compounds

These are usually combinations of adjunct-auxiliary compounds with a preceding verb and/or the following auxiliary to-.

ya' tupa hani-da gaya' ho- d- u- e
taro piece bite 1.SG break off-PAST-1.SG-IND
I bit a piece off the taro

yava' eli- ta foko hi- s- un- e
money take- 1.PL separate-IFUT-1.PL-IND
let us divide out the money

yao- vinaga eli- da folo' ei-da pa- to- d- u- e
forest-IN take-1.SG appear-1.SG them-put-PAST-1.SG-IND
I found them in the forest

2.3.5.4 Intermediate verbs, or verb accumulation

Polysyllabic verb stems with more than one non-reduced syllable infix the present progressive marker and the negative marker instead of prefixing them (cf. 2.3.1.5 and 2.3.2.21.2). Most probably there were no polysyllabic verb stems originally, and the present polysyllabic verb stems were originally compound verbs which eventually got moulded together into an inseparable verb stem unit. Of some polysyllabic stems, the separation of roots is still possible:

agekani- to forget < age' + ganî- ear + to close
agaso- to surpass < aga' + ho- ? + to hit, beat
agavei- to lead < aga + vei- ? + to wrap

There is a tendency with some speakers, and with a limited number of verbs so far, to make the process complete by prefixing the present progressive and negative markers to polysyllabic verb stems even when they have more than one non-reduced syllable. For instance, the verb hâpei- to tell may occur with the following forms:

da-ha'-no- p-ei- e he is telling me
me- PROG- 3.SG-IND

no- da-hap- ei- e he is telling me
PROG-me-tell-3.SG-IND

da-ha'-a- p-ei- e he does not tell me
me- NEG- 3.SG-IND

he does not tell me

he is not telling me

he is not telling me

The forms with the infixed morphemes, however, are still the more frequently occurring ones.

Examples for the accumulation of compound verbs into single units are also the verb-verb compounds hei- o- to come up, emi- o- to come down, eli- o- to bring, and eli- u- to take away. Since the direct chaining of verb stems is not possible, forms of these compound verbs show regressive assimilation of their vowels in speech, so that, apart from the double stress, they occur phonologically as word units (cf. under morphophonemics, 1.2).

2.3.6 Irregular verbs

Four verbs, two of class 1 and two of class 2, show irregularities in their inflection so that a separate description is necessary, especially since they are among the most frequently occurring verbs in Yagaria.

Their irregularity shows

by the distribution of verb stem allomorphs,
by special morphophonemic features resulting in additional stem allomorphs: h > s, vowel u > consonant v, zero stem allomorphs,
by different affixation patterns.

Of class 1, the irregular verbs are hu- to say, to do, to be, and u- to go.

The most obvious irregularity compared with any other class 1 verbs, are the person-number markers occurring with the indicative present tense. They are a mixture of class 1 and class 2 person-number markers, and occur in the same distribution as they do regularly with verbs of any class in any indicative tense but the present (cf. 2.3.2.22).

The other irregular feature shared by the two verbs is the distribution of stem allomorphs in the indicative past and future tenses. Whereas all other class 1 verb stems have only front vowel allomorphs in those tenses, these two follow the general ablaut rule
of 2.3.1.1, and have back vowel allomorphs for all singular and ego persons, and front vowel allomorphs for all non-singular non-ego persons. The general ablaut rule is also followed for all medial subject-identical verb forms, and other dependent verbs, as goal nominalized and quality derivation form.

The regular imperative has a back vowel allomorph in the singular, front vowel allomorphs in dual and plural. The first and third person imperative has a front vowel allomorph.

Non-identical medial verb forms follow in their distribution of stem allomorphs the forms from which they are derived.

Of class 2 the irregular verbs are ho- to hit, and o- to come.

In their distribution of stem allomorphs, these verbs follow the general ablaut rule as all regular class 2 verbs. The irregularity of the two verbs shows mainly in stem allomorphs which occur because of special morphophonemic features and vowel assimilation.

2.3.6.1 The verb hu- to say, to do, to be

Note: hu-, besides meaning to say, to do, to be, functions especially as auxiliary verb for many adjunct-auxiliary compound verbs (cf. 2.3.5.1), and as auxiliary in modified verb phrases (cf. 3.1.2.12). It also may, together with a purposive clause, express willingness or intention to do something:

begi-s u- me' hu- d- u- e
beat-IFUT-1.SG-ANT say-PAST-1.SG-IND
I wanted to hit him, or I was going to hit him

The vowel assimilation which has led to the present tense forms of hu-, is a regressive one, and is assumed to be as follows:

Sing 1. hu- + ue > huue > hue
    2. hi- + ane > hiiane > hane
    3. hi- + ie > hiie > hie
Dual 1. hu- + u'e > huu'e > hu'e
    2. hi- + a'e > hia'e > ha'e
    3. hi- + a'e > hia'e > ha'e
Plural 1. hu- + une > huune > hune
    2. hi- + ae > hiae > hae
    3. hi- + ae > hiae > hae

The distribution of stem allomorphs in the present tense follows the special ablaut rule for the present tense as described in 2.3.2.21.1.
A morphophonemic idiosyncrasy of the verb hu- (which it shares with ho-, cf. 2.3.6.3) is the fact that after glottal stop the initial h changes into s (' + h > s), that is after the present progressive marker and the negative marker, which, because of that assimilation, both occur in their allomorph forms with open syllables.

Because of the h > s change, the verb occurs with six different stem allomorphs: hu-, hi-, h-, su-, si-, and s-.

Paradigm of hu-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present Tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>hue</td>
<td>hu'e</td>
<td>hune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>hane</td>
<td>ha'e</td>
<td>hae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>hie</td>
<td>ha'e</td>
<td>hae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present tense, negated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>asue</td>
<td>asu'e</td>
<td>asune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>asane</td>
<td>asa'e</td>
<td>asae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>asie</td>
<td>asa'e</td>
<td>asae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present tense, progressive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>nosue</td>
<td>nosu'e</td>
<td>nosune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>nosane</td>
<td>nesa'e</td>
<td>nesa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>nosie</td>
<td>nesa'e</td>
<td>nesa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>hudue</td>
<td>hudu'e</td>
<td>hudune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>hudane</td>
<td>hida'e</td>
<td>hidae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>hudie</td>
<td>hida'e</td>
<td>hidae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intentional future tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>hisue</td>
<td>hisu'e</td>
<td>hisune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>hisane</td>
<td>hisa'e</td>
<td>hisae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>hisie</td>
<td>hisa'e</td>
<td>hisae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The negated forms are no'sue, no'asane etc.)
Future tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>hugue</td>
<td>hugu'e</td>
<td>hugune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>hugane</td>
<td>higa'e</td>
<td>higae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>hugie</td>
<td>higa'e</td>
<td>higae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The negated forms are asugue, asugane, etc.)

Regular Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>huo</th>
<th>hi'o</th>
<th>hiio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>negated:</td>
<td>asuo</td>
<td>asi'o</td>
<td>asiio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First and third person imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>hino</th>
<th>asino</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>negated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Medial verb, identical subject

Neutral

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>huda</th>
<th>huta'a</th>
<th>huta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>huka</td>
<td>hita'a</td>
<td>hita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>huna</td>
<td>hida'a</td>
<td>hida</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The negated forms are asuda, asuka, etc.)

Progressive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>nosuda</th>
<th>nosuta'a</th>
<th>nosuta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>nosuka</td>
<td>nesita'a</td>
<td>nesita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>nosuna</td>
<td>nesida'a</td>
<td>nesida</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The negated forms are no'asuda, no'asuka, etc.)

Completed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>huloda</th>
<th>hulota'a</th>
<th>hulota</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>huloka</td>
<td>hileta'a</td>
<td>hileta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>hulona</td>
<td>hileda'a</td>
<td>hileda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The negated forms are asuloda, asuloka, etc.)

2.3.6.2 The verb u- to go

In the present tense, vowel assimilation which in the 1. persons singular, dual, and plural, and in the 3. person singular, has linked the stem vowel inseparably with the person-number marker, has virtually left those persons with zero stem allomorphs. An allomorphic change of vowel u into consonant v is caused by the following a in the 2. person singular, and the 2. and 3. persons dual and plural.
The assimilation process obviously is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( u- + ue &gt; uue &gt; ue )</td>
<td>( u- + u'e &gt; uu'e &gt; u'e )</td>
<td>( u- + une &gt; uune &gt; une )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( u- + a'e &gt; uae &gt; va'e )</td>
<td>( u- + a'e &gt; uae &gt; va'e )</td>
<td>( u- + ae &gt; uae &gt; vae )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( i- + ie &gt; iie &gt; ie )</td>
<td>( i- + i'e &gt; iae &gt; iae )</td>
<td>( i- + i'e &gt; iae &gt; iae )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distribution of the original stem allomorphs in the present tense is irregular and follows a pattern of its own, neither the general ablaut rule, nor the special ablaut rule of the present tense.

Paradigm of \( u- \):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>( ue )</td>
<td>( u'e )</td>
<td>( une )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>( vane )</td>
<td>( va'e )</td>
<td>( vae )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>( ie )</td>
<td>( va'e )</td>
<td>( vae )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present tense, progressive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>( no'ue )</td>
<td>( no'u'e )</td>
<td>( no'une )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>( no'vane )</td>
<td>( ne'va'e )</td>
<td>( ne'vae )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>( no'ie )</td>
<td>( ne'va'e )</td>
<td>( ne'vae )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>( udue )</td>
<td>( udu'e )</td>
<td>( udune )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>( udane )</td>
<td>( ida'e )</td>
<td>( idae )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>( udie )</td>
<td>( ida'e )</td>
<td>( idae )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intentional future tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>( isue )</td>
<td>( isu'e )</td>
<td>( isune )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>( isane )</td>
<td>( isa'e )</td>
<td>( isae )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>( isie )</td>
<td>( isa'e )</td>
<td>( isae )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>( ugue )</td>
<td>( ugu'e )</td>
<td>( ugune )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>( ugane )</td>
<td>( iga'e )</td>
<td>( igae )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>( ugie )</td>
<td>( iga'e )</td>
<td>( igae )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regular Imperative</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uo</td>
<td>i'o</td>
<td>iio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First and third person imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medial verb, identical subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. uda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. uka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. una</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Progressive

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. no'uda</td>
<td>no'uta'a</td>
<td>no'uta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. no'uka</td>
<td>ne'ita'a</td>
<td>ne'ita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. no'una</td>
<td>ne'ida'a</td>
<td>ne'ida</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Completed

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. uloda</td>
<td>ulota'a</td>
<td>ulota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. uloka</td>
<td>ileta'a</td>
<td>ileta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ulona</td>
<td>ileda'a</td>
<td>ileda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.6.3 The verb ho- to hit, to beat

The vowel assimilation which has led to the present tense forms, is assumed to be as follows:

### Singular

| 1. ho- + oe > hooe > hoe |
| 2. he- + ane > heane > hane |
| 3. he- + o'e > hee > he |

### Dual

| 1. ho- + o'e > hoo'e > ho'e |
| 2. he- + a'e > hea'e > ha'e |
| 3. he- + a'e > hea'e > ha'e |

### Plural

| 1. ho- + one > hoone > hone |
| 2. he- + ae > heae > hae |
| 3. he- + ae > heae > hae |

The distribution of stem allomorphs follows the special ablaut rule for the present tense.

Vowel assimilation also occurs in the regular imperative:

### Singular

| ho- + o > hoo > ho |

### Dual

| he- + 'o > he'o |

### Plural

| he- + oe > heeo > heo |
In the same way as with hu- (2.3.6.1), the initial h of ho- also changes into s after a glottal stop (' + h > s'), i.e. after the present progressive and the negative markers which consequently occur as open syllable allomorphs. The verb occurs with six different stem allomorphs: ho-, he-, h-, so-, se-, s-.

Paradigm of ho-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present tense</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>hoe</td>
<td>ho'e</td>
<td>hone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>hane</td>
<td>ha'e</td>
<td>hae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>ha'e</td>
<td>hae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present tense, negated</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>asoe</td>
<td>aso'e</td>
<td>asone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>asane</td>
<td>asa'e</td>
<td>asae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>ase</td>
<td>asa'e</td>
<td>asae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present tense, progressive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>nosoe</td>
<td>noso'e</td>
<td>nosone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>nosane</td>
<td>nesa'e</td>
<td>nesa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>nesa'e</td>
<td>nesa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The negated forms are no'asoe, no'asane etc.)

| **Past tense** |          |      |        |
| 1.            | hodue    | hodu'e | hodune |
| 2.            | hodane   | heda'e | hede   |
| 3.            | hodie    | heda'e | hede   |

(The negated forms are asodue, asodane, etc.)

| **Intentional future tense** |          |      |        |
| 1.                    | hesue    | hesu'e | hesune |
| 2.                    | hesane   | hesa'e | hesae  |
| 3.                    | hesie    | hesa'e | hesae  |

(The negated forms are asesue, asesane, etc.)

| **Future tense** |          |      |        |
| 1.              | hogue    | hgu'e | hogune |
| 2.              | hogane   | heg'a'e | hegae |
| 3.              | hogie    | heg'a'e | hegae |

(The negated forms are asogue, asogane, etc.)
A derivative verb which needs special attention is agaso- to surpass. It appears to have originally been a compound verb with ho- as auxiliary, but has turned into a simple verb in which the original auxiliary verb can still be recognized in its allomorphic forms so-, se-, and s-, occurring in all tenses. The present progressive marker is infixed into the stem:

daganose he is surpassing me, but, strangely enough, the negative marker occurs prefixed to the stem:
a'aganosoe I am not surpassing him

2.3.6.4 The verb o- to come

In the present tense, vowel assimilation which has linked the stem vowels inseparably with the person-number markers, has virtually left all persons with zero stem allomorphs.
The assimilation process is obviously as follows:

Singular
1. \( o^- + oe > ooe > oe \)
2. \( e^- + ane > eane > ane \)
3. \( e^- + o'e > ee > e \)

Dual
1. \( o^- + o'e > oo'o'e > o'e \)
2. \( e^- + a'e > ea'e > a'e \)
3. \( e^- + a'e > ea'e > a'e \)

Plural
1. \( o^- + one > oone > one \)
2. \( e^- + ae > eae > ae \)
3. \( e^- + ae > eae > ae \)

The distribution of the original stem allomorphs follows the special ablaut rule of the present tense.

Vowel assimilation also occurs in the regular imperative, but the singular imperative has been replaced by the first and third person imperative.

Singular \( (^o^o^- + o > oo > o) \) eno
Dual \( e^- + 'o > e'o \)
Plural \( e^- + eo > eeo > eo \)

Paradigm of \( o^- \):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>oe</td>
<td>o'e</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>ane</td>
<td>a'e</td>
<td>ae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a'e</td>
<td>ae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present tense, progressive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>no'o'oe</td>
<td>no'o'e</td>
<td>no'one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>no'anoe</td>
<td>ne'a'e</td>
<td>ne'ae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>no'o'e</td>
<td>ne'a'e</td>
<td>ne'ae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>oduce</td>
<td>odu'e</td>
<td>odune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>odane</td>
<td>eda'e</td>
<td>edae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>odie</td>
<td>eda'e</td>
<td>edae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intentional future tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>esue</td>
<td>esu'e</td>
<td>esune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>esane</td>
<td>esa'e</td>
<td>esae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>esie</td>
<td>esa'e</td>
<td>esae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3 SYNAX

This part of the grammar describes how the units dealt with in the "morphology" part, are put together to form larger units: phrases, clauses, and sentences.

3.1 PHRASES

Phrases consist potentially of two or more associated words not constituting a clause (it will be seen that verb phrases, however, do not fit completely into this definition).

Phrases fill, typically, but not always, slots on clause level.

In the following sections, phrases are described as being of two main types: Noun phrases and verb phrases.
3.1.1 Noun phrases

Noun phrases occur in the following slots in clauses: Subject, object, locational, temporal, benefactive, and instrumental. They also occupy the predicate slot in non-verbal clauses. Certain noun phrases may also occur in the modifier slot in verb phrases.

When a noun phrase occurs in the subject slot, it may occur without any additional marker, especially in intransitive clauses, or the last word of the phrase (in most, but not all cases, the head) may carry the pivotal marker (-ma' / -ba' for singular, -magi'a / -bagi'a for dual, -magi / -bagi for plural), or else the phrase is focused by a pronoun (cf. 3.1.1.2).

When a noun phrase occurs in the object slot, it usually occurs without an additional marker; it may, however, occur as focused phrase if for some reason the object is to be stressed (cf. 3.1.1.2).

When a noun phrase occurs in the locational slot, it contains a locational word, either a free word (cf. under 3.1.1.3) or else the last word of the phrase (in most cases, but not always, the head) carries a locational suffix.

When a noun phrase occurs in the temporal slot, it contains a temporal word, either a free word (cf. under 3.1.1.3), or else the last word of the phrase (in most cases, but not always, the head) carries a locational marker.

When a noun phrase occurs in the instrumental slot, its last word (in most cases, but not always, the head) carries the instrumental marker.

When a noun phrase occurs in the benefactive slot, its last word (in most cases, but not always, the head) carries the benefactive marker.

Noun phrases occupying the predicate slot of non-verbal clauses, occur usually carrying the equation marker, or else the negative or the interrogative marker suffixed to the last word of the phrase.

Noun phrases occurring in the modifier slot of verb phrases, are usually tied into that phrase by means of the auxiliary verb hu- (cf. 3.1.2.12).

Examples for the forms which the noun phrases assume for occurrence in the different slots, will be given in all the following sections with the description of the phrases.
3.1.1.1 Modified noun phrases

The majority of all noun phrases falls into this category. There are different types of modified noun phrases, and they usually consist of an obligatory head, which is a noun or noun-like word, and one or more optional modifiers. The number of modifiers seldom exceeds three with one head because otherwise the construction becomes clumsy.

Six modifier slots can be stated:

- Demonstrative slot (DEM)
- Possessive slot (POSS)
- Descriptive slot (DES)
- Substantive slot (SUB)
- Quantifier slot (QUAN)
- Qualifier slot (QUAL)

The first four are found preceding the head (H), the last two are usually found following the head, but never more than one modifier following the head slot. The preferred, but not rigidly fixed order of the slots in the phrase is:

\[ + \text{DEM} + \text{POSS} + \text{DES} + \text{SUB} + H + \text{QUAN} + \text{QUAL} \]

Since all the modifiers are optional, quite often a phrase has just one modifier of one or the other kind. These "basic" types will be described in the following sections, and in a last section (3.1.1.17) it will be shown how these basic types may be combined into complex modified phrases.

3.1.1.11 Demonstrative

In this basic type modified noun phrase we have a noun occupying the head slot, preceded by a demonstrative (for demonstratives, cf. 2.1.4).

Examples:

\[ \text{ma'\ i de} \quad \text{this man} \]
\[ \text{this man} \]
\[ \text{na'\ i hagita} \quad \text{that knife} \]
\[ \text{that knife} \]
\[ \text{a'\ i gumana} \quad \text{that village} \]
\[ \text{that village} \]
\[ \text{a'\ i yava'\ } \quad \text{that stone} \]
\[ \text{that stone} \]
a'ī gava'  that kind
that kind
a'ī gavana  that kind
that kind
e ma gayale  that pig there
that there pig
b uga  igopa  that land over there
that over there land
Examples of phrases occurring in different clause slots:
Subject:
ma'i a- ba'  this woman subj
this woman-PIV
a'ī yale- magi  those people
that people-PL
Locational:
a'ī yo-pi'  in that house
that house-IN
bega  ae- lo'  on that mountain over there
that over there mountain-AD
(The following example could be explained as a phrase carrying two
locative markers, or else as two entities occurring in one and the same
slot):
b uga- lo' ulina-pi'  over there in the shade
that over there-AD shade-IN
Temporal:
a'ī vita'  at that time
that at time
Instrumental:
ma'i hagita-lot'i'  with this knife
this knife- INST
Benefactive:
ma'i yava-e'  for this tree
this tree-BEN
Non-verbal predicate:

uma bade-opa (it is) not that boy there
that there boy- NEG

3.1.1.12 Possessive

In this basic type modified noun phrase, we have a noun occupying
the head slot, preceded by the possessive slot which may be occupied by
any of the following:

A possessive pronoun which may be expanded into a possessive
phrase:
dagae' bade my boy
my boy
Hane agae' bade Hane's boy
Hane his boy
Filigano yale lagae' aepa the origin of us Filigano people
Filigano people our origin

A proper name (this construction seems to be restricted to kinship
terms which have only optional possessive suffixation);
Hane bade Hane's boy
Hane boy

A noun or proper name, and a possessive marker suffixed to the head
of the phrase:
Hane bade-'a Hane's boy
Hane boy- his
Imala hoya- 'a Imala's garden
Imala garden-his
bade havú-'a the boy's bow
boy bow- his

A noun or noun phrase suffixed with the pivotal marker:
de- ma' bade the man's boy
man-PIV boy
lopa de- ma' bade the old man's boy
old man-PIV boy
a'i de- ma' bade that man's boy
that man-PIV boy
A noun or noun phrase suffixed with the dual/plural relation marker:

ya-le- 'i' yona  the people's house
people-REL house

bade-lata- 'i' gaya le  the pig of the two boys
boy- they dl-REL pig

heipa'ya-le- 'i' yona  which people's house?
which people-REL house

Examples for possessive phrases occurring in different clause slots:

Subject:

de- ma' bade-ma'  the man's boy subj
man-PIV boy- PIV

Locational:

dagae' yo- pi'  in my house
my house-IN

Temporal:

lagae' gana-vi'  at our time
our time-IN

Instrumental:

gagae' havu-lot i'  with your bow
your bow- INST

Benefactive:

ya-le- 'i' yo- se'  for the people's house
people-REL house-BEN

Non-verbal predicate:

dagae' hoya- e'  (it is) my garden
my garden-EQ

3.1.1.13 Descriptive

The descriptive slot which precedes the head slot, may be occupied either by attributive words, i.e. adjuncts (mostly adjectives), or by a locational word or phrase, or by a dependent clause. Those three possibilities will be described separately in the following sections.
3.1.13.1 Adjuncts

The descriptive slot may be occupied by one or more adjectives (though it is only very infrequently that more than two will occur).

- gabe igopa uninhabited land
- eigava yona new house
- havana bade small boy
- ge'yavinaga yale the people of old
- ho gavana good kind
- soko ougegesa yona good big house
- heipa'de which man?
- heipa'gava' which kind? how?

Examples of phrases occurring in different clause slots:

Subject:
- ougegesa de- ma' the huge man subj
- huge man-PIV
- heipa' de- ma' which man subj?
- which man-PIV

Locational:
- soko igopa-lo' in a good land
- good land- AD
- heipa hoya- vi' in which garden?
- which garden-IN

Temporal:
- soko gana-vi' at a good time
- good time-IN
Instrumental:
legepa havu-lo'ti' with a big bow
big bow- INST

Benefactive:
havana bade-lo'se' for the little boy
small boy- BEN

Non-verbal predicate:
eigava yona-e' (it is) a new house
new house-EQ

3.1.1.13.2 Locationals

The descriptive slot may be occupied by a locational word or a locational phrase. The occurrence of the latter would be a loop-back and embedding of any other modified noun phrase carrying a locative marker.
Examples:
ni-pi' yaga animals in (of) the water
water-IN animal
ougegesa yo-pi' yale the people in the big house
big house-IN people
yo-to' yo-to' yale the people of all places
house-AD house-AD people
gavu-viti' gaveda rope from the bush
bush-EL rope

This type of phrase does not occur so frequently. Here are a few examples of its occurrence in different slots:
Subject:
buga igopa-lo' yale- magi the people of the country over
that over there land- AD people-PL there subj
yo-pi' de- ma' the man in the house subj
house-IN man-PIV

Instrumental:
gavu-viti' gaveda-lo'ti' with rope from the bush
bush-EL rope- INST
Benefactive:

hoya-di-vi' yava-e' for the tree in my garden

garden-my-IN tree-BEN

Non-verbal predicate:

yo- ka-logati' yale-vie people from your village?

house-your-AB people-INT

3.1.1.13.3 Clauses

A loopback from clause to phrase level takes place when dependent clauses occupy the descriptive slot in a modified noun phrase. The verb in those dependent clauses is nominalized by the pivotal marker (cf. 2.3.3.23) or the quality derivative marker -te' (cf. 2.3.3.22).

Examples:

o- d- i- ma' bade the boy who came

come-PAST-3.SG-PIV boy

yaga hao- d- i- ma' de the man who shot the animal

animal shoot-PAST-3.SG-PIV man

ega fili-te' yale the people who died yesterday

yesterday die-QD people

g e havi-te' yale the people who know the language

word know-QD people

g e havi-d- a- ma' yale the people who heard the talk

word hear-PAST-3.PL-PIV people

hemeti dete' ge hu- d- u- ma' ge the word I spoke this

today morning word say-PAST-1.SG-PIV word morning

hoya eli- d- u- pa' gava' the way we did the work

work make-PAST-1.PL-PIV kind

henaga hoy- vi- ti' eli- s- u- pa' yana later garden-EL take-IFUT-1.PL-PIV taro

the taro which we shall take later from the garden

The dependent clauses occurring in the descriptive slot of the phrase, may also be expanded to clause chains, e.g.:

ega o- na | hagita eli- lo- na | gavu

yesterday come-3.SG knife take-CPL-3.SG grass

halaga hu-d- i- ma' bade the boy who came yesterday, took

cut- PAST-3.SG-PIV boy a knife and cut the grass.....
Examples of these phrases occurring in different clause slots:

Subject:

"olega    o- d- i- ma' de- ma'  the man who came two days\n two days ago come-PAST-3.SG-PIV man-PIV ago subj\n agaea ana eli- te' a- ba'    the woman he takes/took subj\n he       woman take-QD woman-PIV\n eli- na dupu hu-na la-to- te' de- ma'\n take-3.SG gather- 3.SG us-put-QD man-PIV\n the man who gathers/gathered us together subj\n eli- da dupu hu-dalapa- te- s- u- ma' de- ma- da\n take-1.SG gather- 1.SG you pl-put-IFUT-1.SG-PIV man-PIV-I\n I, the man who shall gather you pl together subj\n"

Locational:

"eve do- d- u- pa' guma- to'  at the village where we ate\n sugarcane eat-PAST-1.PL-PIV village-AD the sugarcane\n"

Temporal:

"a'i ge da-hapei-d- a- pa' gana-vi'  at the time when you had\n that word me-tell- PAST-2.SG-PIV time-IN told me that\n go' a'- ei-g- i- ma' yege-lo'  on a day when it will not rain\n NEG-     FUT-3.SG-PIV sun- AD\n"

Instrumental:

"bina fei-d- i- ma' hagita-loti'  with the knife he had bought\n buy-     PAST-3.SG-PIV knife- INST\n"

Benefactive:

"hemeti yo' gi- ta su ho- d- u- pa' yo- se'\n today house build-1.PL finish-PAST-1.PL-PIV house-BEN\n for the house which we finished building today\n"

Non-verbal predicate:

"hoya- viti' bao- d- u- ma' yana-e'  (it is) the taro I picked\n garden-EL pick-PAST-1.SG-PIV taro-EQ from the garden"
3.1.1.14 Substantive

The substantive modifying slot which precedes the head slot, is usually occupied by a noun. In some instances it is somewhat arbitrary to decide whether two nouns conjoined in this way, are a phrase, or constitute a single word. This question has been in most instances decided on the basis of phonological evidence: If two conjoining nouns have only one main stress, they are regarded as compound words, and are spelled as one word, e.g. nikona water tube. If each word retains its own main stress, they are regarded as a phrase.

Examples (Note: Class 1 nouns, when occurring as modifiers, occur in their short form):

- Yava' gina  cave
  stone opening
- Bade yuva  a group of boys
  boy group
- Yava laga  tree-fruit
  tree fruit
- Agamo' laga  testicle
  sorotum fruit
- Lugo' gaveda  throat
  neck rope
- Yo' mupa  house-roof
  house roof
- Avetatapa aolegeva  beard
  chin hair
- Yao gavu  timber-thicket
  forest bush
- Yabe igopa  forest land
  forest area land
- Yo' aepa  village inhabitant
  house origin
- Igopa aepa  land-owner
  land origin

The modifier slot in such phrases can also be occupied by proper names:
Goloka gumana the town of Goroka
Goroka village
Move yale the Move people
Move people
Huva ana a woman of Lufa
Lufa woman

With people, the words de (for a man), ana (for a woman), and yale (for a plurality of people) occupy the head slot of such a phrase, whereas some other noun or noun phrase substantiates their status, or profession.
Examples:
tikisa de male teacher
teacher man
tikisa ana female teacher
teacher woman
tikisa yale teachers
teacher people
meba de member (of the House of Assembly)
member man
nalisa' de sorcerer
sorcery man
nalisa' yale sorcerers
sorcery people
dota de doctor, aid post orderly
physician man

The substantive slot may also be occupied by a modified phrase consisting of a nominal head and a substantive modifier:
yo' aepa de inhabitant of the house or village
house origin man
igopa aepa yale the land-owners
land origin people

It occurs also that a proper name or kinship term occupies the head slot, and is modified by the noun de (mainly for men, but occasionally also for females) when such a phrase is used as vocative (cf. 2.1.2.8):
Finally, for the description of plants and animals quite often phrases are used in which the head slot is occupied by a generic term, and the substantive modifier slot by the proper name of the plant or animal. Especially introduced animals are classified in that way:

- bulimaka' gayale: cow
- meme gayale: goat
- hosi gayale: horse
- pato gokolena: duck

Trees are also classified in that way:

- gemi' yava: a kemina tree, kemina timber
- beni yava: a hoop pine tree

With some other generic terms, it is observed that the order of slots is reversed, and the modifier follows the head:

- yaga genina: species of tree kangaroo
- ha fusu: fusu mushrooms (growing on tree stumps)

Examples for the substantive modified phrase occurring in different clause slots:

Subject:

nalisa' de- ma': the sorcerer subj
sorcery man-PIV
Locational:
yava' gi- pi' in the cave
stone opening-IN

Temporal:
go' gana-vi' in the wet season
rain time-IN

Instrumental:
lu' heiya- loti' with the axe-handle
axe handle-INST

Benefactive:
yo' aepa yale- 'i- se' for the inhabitants of the village
house origin people-REL-BEN

Non-verbal predicate:
yava laga- vie (is it) a tree-fruit?
tree fruit-INT

3.1.1.15 Quantifier

The quantifier slot preferably, but not always, follows the head slot (exceptions are introduced Pidgin number words, cf. note in 3.1.7, and affixed phrases, cf. below). It is occupied by a numeral or numeral phrase (most of the original numerals are phrases, cf. 2.1.7), or by an adjective expressing quantity.

Examples:
ve bogo one man, another man
man one

ve bogo-ko' one man
man one- RE

yale bogo some people
people one

ba lole two sweet potatoes
sweet potato two

ba lole-ko' two sweet potatoes
sweet potato two- RE

ege lole-'e' bogo-'e' three bananas
banana two- COM one- COM
When the phrase is affixed, quite often the quantifier may precede the head. Examples for occurrence of the phrase in different clause slots:

**Subject:**
- ve bogo-ma' or bogo ve- ka-ma' one man subj
  - man one- PIV one man-SG-PIV
- ve bogo-ko-ba' or bogo-ko' ve- ka-ma' one single man subj
  - man one- RE-PIV one- RE man-SG-PIV
- bade sole'na-magi boy plenty- PL many boys subj

**Locational:**
- guma' lole-ko-to' or lole-ko' guma- to' at just two villages
  - village two- RE-AD two- RE village-AD

**Temporal:**
- gavu bogo-vi' or bogo gavu-vi' in another year
  - year one- IN one year-IN

**Instrumental:**
- hali bogo-ko-tot'i or bogo-ko' hali- loti' with just one arrow
  - arrow one- RE-INST one- RE arrow-INST

**Benefactive:**
- abade bogo-ko-se' or bogo-ko' abade-lose' for the one girl
  - girl one- RE-BEN one- RE girl- BEN

**Non-verbal predicate:**
- yo' bogo-ko'-na- e' or bogo-ko' yona- e' (it is) just one house
  - house one- RE- COMP-EQ one- RE house-EQ
3.1.1.16 Qualifier

The qualifier slot which follows the head slot, is usually occupied by adjectives, but always in their predicative form. The occurrence of this type of phrase is rather restricted, it occurs mainly in non-verbal predicate slots, in object slots, and subject slots of intransitive and non-verbal clauses.

Examples:

* lagaise'na  small fruit
fruit small
* egehagana  tasty banana
banana tasty

The restrictive marker in its allomorphic form -'ago' (cf. 2.1.3.13) occurs with this type of phrase:

* yo'sokona-'ago'  a very good house
house good- RE

Only when this phrase occurs in non-verbal predicates, it carries additional suffixation:

* egehagana-e'  (it is) a tasty banana
banana tasty- EQ
* egehagana-vie  (is it) a tasty banana?
banana tasty- INT

3.1.1.17 Combination

All the basic type phrases described in the preceding sections, may be expanded and combined into complex modified noun phrases which may with the appropriate suffixation, occupy slots as described. It will be observed, however, that demonstrative and possessive slot cannot be occupied at the same time. A demonstrative preceding a possessive expression, is a modifier in a phrase which then in turn occupies the possessive slot of the phrase:

* a'ide-ma'eigavasoko'1ole
that man-PIV new good house two
DEM H
POSS DEL DES H QUAN

that man's two new nice houses
a'i lopa de- ma' eigava soko yo' lole
that old man-PIV new good house two
DEM DES H
POSS DES H QUAN',
that old man's two new nice houses

Other examples:

DES + H + QUAN:
gabe igopa sole'na much uninhabited land
uninhabited land plenty
POSS + DES + H:
yale- 'i' soko yona the people's good house
people-REL good house
DEM + SUB + H:
ma'i yava' gi- pi' in this cave
this stone opening-IN
POSS + SUB + H + QUAL:
gagae' yava laga eise'na your small tree fruit
your tree fruit small
DEM + DES + H + QUAN:
ma'i ougegesa yo- tipi lole-'e' bogo-'e' these your pl three big
this big house-your pl two- COM one- COM houses
DES + H + QUAN:
egae e- d- a'- ama' ve lole the two men who came yesterday
yesterday come-PAST-3.DL-PIV man two

3.1.1.2 Focused phrase

Focused phrases have two slots which can both be regarded as head slots. The first is usually occupied by a noun or noun phrase, the second one by a pronoun which puts the noun or noun phrase into focus somewhat in the same way as the pivotal marker does. Focused phrases occur mainly in subject slots of clauses, occasionally in object slots, and also in locational, benefactive, and non-verbal predicate slots.

A special form of the focused phrase is the repetition of an emphatic pronoun, whereby both slots are occupied by a pronoun:
lagae-ti we amongst ourselves
we- ourselves we- ourselves

This special kind of focused phrase usually occurs in the subject slot of a clause expressing reciprocity or reflexivity. (cf. also 2.3.4.4)

Examples of focused phrases:
soko de agaea the good man
good man he
Goloka-lo' i-d-a ma' yale pagaea the people who went to
Goroka-AD go-PAST-3.PL-PIV people they Goroka

Locational:
nalisa' de agae-togati' from the sorcerer
sorcery man he- AB

Benefactive:
filli-te' yale pagae-se' for the dead people
die- QD people they- BEN

Non-verbal predicate:
egae eve l-ami-d-i ma' de agaea-e'
yesterday sugarcane us-give-PAST-3.SG-PIV man he- EQ
(it is) the man who yesterday gave us sugarcane

3.1.1.3 Axis-Relater phrases

Axis-relater phrases have two slots. The axis slot, which precedes, may be occupied by a noun, a noun phrase, a noun-like word, or by a dependent clause. The relater slot is occupied by a "post-position" type of word, which may have locational or temporal character, or may be an adjective-like word. The axis-relater phrases are described as locational, temporal, and comparison phrases.

3.1.1.3 Locational

The axis slot is occupied by a noun, noun phrase, or noun-like word. The relater slot is occupied by a locational word. Some of those locational words may be analyzed further, as they are fused forms of other phrase types, e.g.

hitagipi' underneath < hita + gina + pi', or
bed opening IN
Other words cannot be analyzed further, they all, however, carry some kind of a locational morpheme, e.g. lupenaga underneath, and yu'ina ga inside.

These phrases occur in locational slots in clauses, or in descriptive slots in phrases as described in 3.1.1.13.2. Examples:

yo' hitagipi' under the house
house underneath (of a house built on stilts)
yava geva hitagipi' under the tree trunk
tree trunk underneath
yava' lupenaga under the stone
stone underneath
yo' gametulo' on the house
house on top
yo' gametuvalo' above the house
house above
hosi agovetulo' on the horse
horse on top
a'i agovetulo' on top of that
that on top
yo' yu'inaga inside the house
house inside
gegita yu'inaga inside the fence
fence inside

The phrases may be expanded by the ablative morpheme -ti':

yo' yu'inagati' from inside the house
yava' lupenagati' from underneath the stone

3.1.1.32 Temporal

The axis slot is occupied by a temporal word or a noun with temporal meaning, the relater slot by a word which defines the temporal expression more precisely. The relater may be expanded by the intensifier legi' very, really, truly. These phrases occur in temporal slots in clauses.
Examples:

ega dete'    yesterday / tomorrow morning
one day from now in the morning
hemeti dete' legi'    very early this morning
today in the morning very
hemeti ute'    this afternoon
today in the afternoon
olega hani'inaga    two nights ago / two nights hence
two days from now in the night
hani' fologu'    in the middle of the night, at midnight
night in midst

3.1.1.33 Comparison

The axis slot is occupied by a noun, noun phrase or noun-like word, or by a dependent clause. The relater slot is occupied either by a noun with a locative marker, e.g.
va-me- to' or me-pe- to',
likeness-AD    comparison-AD
or by the adjective-like word gata' as if, like (cf. 2.1.3.11).

The phrases which have gata' as relater, occur in the modifier slot in verb phrases, and in the predicate slot in non-verbal clauses. Occurring as modifiers, they carry no additional suffixation; occurring as predicates, gata' occurs in its predicative form, and an equation, negative, or interrogative marker is suffixed. The axis, if it is a noun, noun phrase, or noun-like word, is usually connected to the relater by the suffix -ga / -ya (cf. 2.1.3.11 and 2.2.3). If the axis slot is occupied by a clause, the verb in that clause ends in -gese'.

agae'-a-    ga gata'    like himself
he-    himself-ga like
laisi-ya    gata'na-e'    (it is) like rice
rice-    ya like-    EQ
agae'    ougota-ga gata'-nope    (it is) not like his image
his face-    ga like-    NEG
agaea yo- pi' bei-d- i- ges' gata'
he house-IN sit-PAST-3.SG-ges' like
as if he was in the house

The phrases which have locational words as relaters, occur mainly on modifier slots in verb phrases. The axis is quite often, and always if it is occupied by a clause, suffixed with the pivotal marker.
Examples:
agae' vame- to' like him
his likeness-AD
a'i mepe- to' like that
that comparison-AD
yo- ba' vame- to' like a house
house-PIV likeness-AD
gagaea ge hapei-d- a- pa' vame- to' as you had told him
you word tell- PAST-2.SG-PIV likeness-AD

3.1.1.4 Serial (coordinate) phrases

These phrases, mainly enumerations, consist of two or more heads. They may be just chained together without any conjunctional morphemes:
bade abade boys and girls
boy girl
hamu nama little animals and birds
rat bird
hamu yaga small and large animals
rat animal
i-pa- la e-pa- va bo-pa- va their parents and tutors
their- their- their-
mother father tutor

They may also be chained together by the conjunctional morphemes
'-e', '-ese', -gi, -vi / -pi :
lole-'e' bogo-'e' three
two- COM one- COM
Veyamo-'ese' avo- 'a- ma- 'e' ita- 'a- ma- 'e'
Veyamo-COM father-his-PIV-COM mother-his-PIV-COM
Veyamo and his parents
Repetition of a noun carrying a conjunctural or locational morpheme, results in a coordinate phrase expressing ubiquity:

- yo-'e' yo-'e' at all places
- house-COM house-COM
- igopa-'e' igopa-'e' in all lands
- land-COM land-COM
- yege-'e' yege-'e' every day
- sun-COM sun-COM
- yo-to' yo-to' at all places
- house-AD house-AD

Serial noun phrases may, with the respective suffixation, occur in any slot of clauses or phrases which may be filled by modified noun phrases.

3.1.2 Verb phrases

The basic problem for the definition and description of verb "phrases" is posed by the fact that verbs never occur in a "neutral" form, but always with affixes which determine their occurrence and function in a clause. Therefore, and since the predicate is the only obligatory slot in a clause, every verb phrase described (in fact, every verb), is already potentially a clause.

Some of the constructions occurring with verbs, however, are such that they can better be described on phrase level rather than on clause level. For that reason, the concept of "verb phrases" is introduced here, though most if not all of the constructions described, will have, because of the verb form, the appearance of clauses.

There are two types of verb phrases: Modified verb phrases with a modifier slot and a head slot, and close-knit verb phrases, with two or more head slots.
Verb phrases occur in predicate slots in clauses. The form which the verb itself takes (either final, or else medial or otherwise dependent) determines the occurrence of the phrase in independent or dependent clauses.

Verb phrases in which the verb carries the pivotal marker plus a locational suffix, may also occur in locational slots of clauses. A few examples may illustrate this:

bogo'e' do- d- u- pa- to' at the place where we ate again
again eat-PAST-1.PL-PIV-AD

ago' gamao- d- i- ma- toti' from the place where he had
already recover-PAST-3.SG-PIV-AB already recovered

soko hi-da bei- s- a- ma- toti' from the place where they will
good do-3.PL live-IFUT-3.PL-PIV-AB live well

emi- da o- d- u- ma- to' at the place where I came down
down-1.SG come-PAST-1.SG-PIV-AD

3.1.2.1 Modified verb phrases

Modified verb phrases have two slots, with the head slot following the modifier slot. The head slot is occupied by a verb, i.e. its stem and affixes. The modifier slot is occupied by an adverb or an "adverbia" phrase. Adverbs or phrases can either stand on their own, or may be linked to the verb by a medial, subject-identical form of the auxiliary verb hu- which then becomes part of the adverbia phrase occupying the modifier slot. Constructions without hu-, and constructions with hu-, will be described separately in the following sections.

3.1.2.11 Without auxiliary verb

Most of the "true" adverbs (cf. 2.2.2) which never occur as adjectives, may occupy the modifier slot on their own.
Examples:
ago' fili-d- i- e he has died already
already die- PAST-3.SG-IND

belege u- o go quickly!
quickly go-IM SG

hava'a no'- e he is coming just without reason
without reason PROG-come 3.SG IND
bogo 'e' no' - o- e I am coming again
again PROG-come 1.SG-IND

hae eli- d- a- e they took (it) immediately
immediately take-PAST-3.PL-IND

It may happen that the two slots of a verb phrase are separated by other parts of a clause inserted in between them, as shown in the following clause:

dagaea gesi' hoya- viti' gile' eli- d- u- e
I secretly garden-EL corn take-PAST-1.SG-IND
I took corn secretly from the garden

Phrases occurring in the modifier slot, are either modified noun phrases with the noun gabana measure, kind occupying the head slot, or they are axis-relater (comparison) phrases. Examples:
a' i gava' elimi- d- i- e he went down like that
that kind go down-PAST-3.SG-IND
a' i gava-ko' elimi- d- i- e he went down just like that
that kind-RE go down-PAST-3.SG-IND
heipa' gava' elimi- d- i- e how did he go down?
which kind go down-PAST-3.SG-IND

Note: The above three phrases may also occur with the auxiliary verb hu-.

agaea p- oulega-lo' bei-d- i- gese' gata' age-d- a- e
he their-eye- AD sit-PAST-3.SG-gese' like see-PAST-3.PL-IND
they saw him as if he was sitting before them
gagaea hapei -d- a- pa' vame- to' da-hapei-d- i- e
you tell- PAST-2.SG-PIV likeness-AD me-tell- PAST-3.SG-IND
he told me as you had told him

3.1.2.12 With auxiliary verb

Very frequently, the auxiliary verb hu- in subject-identical medial form matching the subject of the verb occupying the head slot, is part of the phrase occupying the modifier slot. This construction with hu- can be regarded as obligatory for adverbs which are formally the same as adjectives, and become adverbs only through this phrasing with hu-.
soko hu-na eli-d-e he made it well
good do-3.SG take-PAST-3.SG-IND

legepa hu-na havi-g-i-e he will understand perfectly
perfect do-3.SG understand-FUT-3.SG-IND

This kind of modified verb phrase in which the head follows the
modifier, may be transformed into another one where the head, assuming
medial form, precedes the modifier, but the meaning of the phrase re-
mains the same. The two phrases above may be transformed into the
following two:

eli-na soko hu-d-i-e he made it well
take-3.SG good do PAST-3.SG-IND

havi-na legepa hu-g-i-e he will understand perfectly
understand 3.SG perfectly do-FUT-3.SG-IND

Words or phrases with the benefactive marker may also, together
with hu-, form an adverbial phrase which may occupy the modifier slot:
dagae-se' hu-na eli-d-i-e he took it for my sake
I-BEN do-3.SG take-PAST-3.SG-IND
game'-yale'-i-se' hi-da p-oune he-d-a-e
they fled because of the enemies

Also, some of the phrases described in the previous section, may
be expanded into phrases with hu-

a'i gava' hu-na elemi-d-i-e he went down like that
that kind do-3.SG go down-PAST-3.SG-IND

a'i gava-ko' hu-na elemi-d-i-e he went down just like that
that kind-RE do-3.SG go down-PAST-3.SG-IND

heipa'gava' hu-na elemi-d-i-e how did he go down?
which kind do-3.SG go down-PAST-3.SG-IND

The following phrases are also constructions with gava' and the
auxiliary verb:
lugava' hu-na no-d-e he eats very much
very much do-3.SG PROG-eat-3.SG IND
lusigava' hu-na no-d-e he eats very much
huge kind do-3.SG PROG-eat-3.SG IND
da'ouva gava' hu-na eli- d- i- e why did he take it?  
how kind do-3.SG take-PAST-3.SG-IND

Loopbacks from clause level occur when dependent clauses occur within "adverbial phrases" in the modifier slot:

bogo vita' hoya eli- d- u- pa' gava' hu-ta eli- g- un- e
one time work make-PAST-1.PL-PIV kind do-1.PL make-FUT-1.PL-IND
we shall do the work the way we did it at another time

3.1.2.2 Close-knit verb phrases

Close-knit verb phrases have two or more head slots, each one occupied by a verb of which all but the last have to occur in medial subject-identical form. They have been described already in the morphology as verb-verb compounds (cf. 2.3.5.2).

Since every verb in the phrase has to have its inflection affixes, these verbs may by their morphology appear to be constituting each one a separate clause. However, despite that morphological evidence, those verb sequences constitute semantic units, and have therefore to be regarded as phrases.

One feature which gives evidence to the correctness of such description, is the negation pattern of the close-knit phrases:

Whereas in a sentence each verb constituting a clause, has to be negated individually, as is shown in the following:

pasi a'- ago-lo- na leka'- a- pei-na a'- u- d- i- e

read-
he did not see the letter, did not read it, and did not go ,
a close-knit verb phrase needs only one negative morpheme to negate the whole phrase. Preferably, but not always, the last verb in the phrase carries the negative marker:

eli- na folo' ei-na a- pa- to- d- i- e he did not find
make-3.SG appear- 3.SG NEG-them-put-PAST-3.SG-IND them

hei- na a'- o- d- i- e he did not come up
go up-3.SG NEG-come-PAST-3.SG-IND

eli- na a'- u- d- i- e he did not carry it away
take-3.SG NEG-go-PAST-3.SG-IND

a'- eli- na u- d- i- e he did not carry it away
NEG-take-3.SG go-PAST-3.SG-IND
Simultaneous actions are sometimes described by one verb plus
the verb be- to live (for animates) or han- to exist (for inanimates).
Such conjoining verbs also form a close-knit verb phrase.

havi-da be- s- u- ga-ni while I shall be hearing, he...
hear-1.SG live-IFUT-1.SG-NI-he
heti- na han- e- ga-ta while it (e.g. tree) was standing up,
stand up-3.SG exist-3.SG-NI-we we...

Modified and close-knit verb phrases may be combined:

hae hei- ta o- d- un- e we came up immediately
immediately go up-1.PL come-PAST-1.PL-IND
vese hi-da eli- da i- s- a- e they shall carry it away

A special kind of close-knit verb phrase is formed by repetition
of a medial verb form. That close-knit phrase then in turn occupies the
modifier slot of a modified verb phrase to express reciprocity:

lagae-ti lagae-ti habao-ta habao-ta hu-ta be- d- un- e
we- ourselves we- our- help- 1.PL help- 1.PL do-1.PL live-PAST-1.PL-IND
we- ourselves we- our- help- 1.PL help- 1.PL do-1.PL live-PAST-1.PL-IND

3.2 CLAUSES

In Yagaria, a clause is a construction which consists of or
includes one and only one predicate. Clauses occupy, typically, but not
always, slots on sentence level. (As described in the Phrase Section,
there is embedding of clauses into phrases, and there is also embedding
of clauses into clauses.)

Clauses contrast as independent and dependent clauses, and within
these two groups as verbal and non-verbal (or equational) clauses.
Verbal clauses contrast as transitive and intransitive. The contrast is
shown in the matrix below:
Generally, the structure of independent and dependent clauses parallels each other. It is mainly by the structure of the predicate and/or the occurrence of a clause whether it is independent or dependent.

All verbal clauses may be negated by the negative morpheme a'-prefixed to the verb.

Transitive clauses differ from intransitive clauses in that the head slot of the verb phrase filling the predicate slot, is occupied by transitive verbs (as described under 2.3.4), and that transitive clauses have potentially an object slot. (Some have potential for two free form objects: direct and indirect). Otherwise there is the same construction for both types of verbal clauses. In the following description, transitive and intransitive clauses will therefore not be treated in separate sections, but always together as "verbal clauses". Examples for both will however be given in every section.

Note: "Impersonal" clauses (cf. Morphology 2.3.4.3) show the same characteristics as transitive clauses, and will not be dealt with specifically. "Reciprocal" actions do not show any characteristic clause structure, for them, cf. 2.3.4.4 and 3.3.1.2.

Non-verbal clauses will be dealt with in separate sections.

### 3.2.1 Independent clauses

Independent clauses occupy the main slot of sentences, in the case of verbal clauses, that slot could also be termed the "final slot".

#### 3.2.1.1 Verbal Clauses

The only obligatory slot in all clauses is the predicate slot. The canonical order of the main slots is subject-object-predicate.
Other slots occurring are temporal, locational, instrumental and benefactive slot. If bitransitive verbs occur in the predicate, the clause may have a second object slot which could be termed indirect object slot.

The order of the slots is not a rigidly fixed one, but the preferred order is:

+ TEMP + LOC + SUBJ + INST + BEN + IOBJ + OBJ + PRED

The different slots may be occupied by the following:

Temporal slot: by a temporal word or phrase,
by a noun or noun phrase carrying a locational marker,
by a dependent clause carrying a locational marker,

Locational slot: by a locational word or phrase,
by a noun or noun phrase carrying a locational marker,
by a pronoun (animate) carrying a locational marker,
by a dependent clause carrying a locational marker,

Subject slot: by a noun or noun phrase,
by a noun or noun phrase carrying the pivotal marker or the dual or plural markers,
by a focused phrase,
by a pronoun,

Instrumental slot: by a noun or noun phrase carrying the instrumental marker,

Benefactive slot: by a noun or noun phrase carrying the benefactive marker,
by a pronoun carrying the benefactive marker,

Indirect object slot: by a noun or noun phrase, occasionally a focused phrase,
by a pronoun,

Object slot: by a noun or noun phrase, occasionally a focused phrase,
by a pronoun,
by a dependent (nominalized) clause,
(by a quote clause),
Predicate slot: by a verb or verb phrase.

The verb in the predicate of independent clauses always occurs in "final" form: Indicative, Imperative, Interrogative, Emphatic, or Irreal Conditional-final. Consequently the Common Greeting forms usually fall into this category. Some of these are given in section 2.3.2.43.

3.2.1.11 Indicative

The verb in the predicate slot can occur in the various tenses in the indicative mood.

Examples:

```
PRED
bei- g- an- e         you will live
live-FUT-2.SG-IND
```

```
PRED
a- fili-g- a'- e     you will not die
NEG-die- FUT-2.DL-IND
```

```
SUBJ
dagaea           u- d- u- e     I went
I             go-PAST-1.SG-IND
```

```
SUBJ
gabe          igopa sole'na    uninhabited land plenty
uninhabited land exist-PAST-3.SG-IND
```

```
SUBJ
ge no- s- u- ma' ge- ma'    loki vei- g- i- e
word PROG-say-1.SG-PIV word-PIV become strong-FUT-3.SG-IND
```

```
BEN
dagae-se'          amota ei- d- i- e     he was afraid of me
I- BEN             be afraid-PAST-3.SG-IND
```

```
BEN
a'i dote'na do- lo- ta fili-te'na-e'    a- de- s- un- e
that food eat-CPL-1.PL die- GN- BEN NEG-eat-IFUT-1.PL-IND
```

as after eating that food we might die, we shall not eat it
LOC | PRED
---|---
yale b-ei-ma-to' | u-g-un-e

people live-3.PL-PIV-AD | go-FUT-1.PL-IND

we shall go to where the people are

TEMP | OBJ | PRED
---|---|---
gei-'a hago- d-i-ma-toti' | eve | do-d-i-e

sickness-his recover-PAST-3.SG-PIV-AB | sugarcane | eat-PAST-3.SG-IND

from the time on when he recovered from his sickness, he ate sugarcane

TEMP | LOC | PRED
---|---|---
ega vatoga | u-g-un-e | tomorrow we shall go somewhere
tomorrow | elsewhere | go-FUT-1.PL-IND else

SUBJ | OBJ | PRED
---|---|---
ve-ma' gala | begi-d-i-e | the man hit the dog
man-PIV | dog | beat-PAST-3.SG-IND

OBJ
bade-ma' gokole' gumina eli-d-i-ma' | ago-d-u-e

boy-PIV chicken steal-PAST-3.SG-PIV | see-PAST-1.SG-IND

I saw which boy stole the chicken

IOBJ | OBJ | PRED
---|---|---
bade yuva- ka | dote'na | p-ami-d-un-e

boy group-your food | them-give-PAST-1.PL-IND

we gave food to your boys

OBJ | IOBJ | PRED
---|---|---
dote'na | bade yuva- ka | p-ami-d-un-e

food | boy group-your | them-give-PAST-1.PL-IND

we gave food to your boys

IOBJ | OBJ | PRED
---|---|---
yo' aepa yale | soko ge | fapei-d-i-e

house origin people | good word | them tell-PAST-3.SG-IND

he told the inhabitants of the village a nice talk

When the indirect object is to be stressed, it will be indicated in a special slot, though it is actually shown already in the predicate:

OBJ | IOBJ | PRED
---|---|---
yava | dagae a | d-ami-d-i-e

he gave the timber to me
tree | I | me-give-PAST-3.SG-IND
Quote clauses may be explained as occupying the object slot, compare the two following clauses with each other:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gagaa</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>no- s- an- e you are saying the word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>word</td>
<td>PROG-say-2.SG-IND</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gagaa</td>
<td>ma- lo' bei- g- u- e no- s- an- e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>this-AD live-FUT-1.SG-IND PROG-say-2.SG-IND</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

you are saying: "I shall stay here"

(It is a better solution, however, to explain the occurrence of quote clauses on sentence level, cf. 3.3.1.3).

It hardly ever occurs that all slots of a clause are occupied simultaneously, as that would make a clause too clumsy. The following example is about the limit of what practically could be packed into one clause:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEMP</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>SUBJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hemeti dete'</td>
<td>guma- to'</td>
<td>a'i de- ma' ougegesa bade-ma'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>today morning</td>
<td>village-AD</td>
<td>that man-PIV big boy- PIV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INST</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gave- loti'</td>
<td>dagae' havana bade</td>
<td>begi-na legepa hu-d- i- e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stick-INST</td>
<td>my little boy</td>
<td>beat 3.SG thoroughly do-PAST-3.SG-IND</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

this morning on the village square the big boy of that man beat up my little boy terribly with a stick

3.2.1.12 Imperative

The verb in the predicate slot can occur in imperative form. If the verb occurs in first and third imperative form, the subject is obligatory.

(Note: Clauses with greeting imperative verb forms are listed in the Morphology Section under 2.3.2.43)

Examples:

PRED
belege i- io go pl quickly!

quickly go-IM PL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yo- pi'</td>
<td>hei- 'o go dl into the house!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

house-IN go up-IM DL
BEN | PRED
hoya-e' | da-haba-o help me with the work!
work-BEN | me-help-IM SG

OBJ

OBJ

PRED
g- agana- ka nuki-o embrace your little brother!
your-little brother-your embrace-IM SG

OBJ

INST

PRED
ema gayale hali-loti' ha-eo shoot pl that pig there
that there pig arrow-INST shoot-IM PL with an arrow!

SUBJ

OBJ

PRED
bade yuva-magi tikisa de-ma' ge havi-no
boy group-PL teacher man-PIV word hear-IM listen to the teacher!

3.2.1.13 Interrogative

In yes-no questions the verb in the predicate slot occurs with the interrogative marker. In independent interrogative clauses, usually the real interrogative marker is suffixed, infrequently, however, the conditional interrogative marker may occur (cf. 2.3.2.42).

(Note: Clauses with greeting interrogative verb forms are listed in the Morphology Section under 2.3.2.43).

Examples:

TEMP

PRED
ega dete' i-s-a-pie shall you go tomorrow morning?
tomorrow morning go-IFUT-2.SG-INT

SUBJ

OBJ

PRED
a'idi de-ma' gayale-di hao-d-i-vie did that man shoot my
that man-PIV pig- my shoot-PAST-3.SG-INT pig?

Information questions have a different structure, as in them, an interrogative word, or a phrase with an interrogative adjective as modifier, occupies the slot which the question aims at.

Examples:

SUBJ

OBJ

PRED
nala'a-ma' gayale hao-d-i-e who shot the pig?
who- PIV pig shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND

SUBJ

OBJ

PRED
heipa'de-ma' gayale hao-d-i-e which man shot the pig?
which man-PIV pig shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND
game' de- ma' nala'a hao- d- i- e whom did the enemy shoot? 
fight man-PIV who shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND

heipa' de hao- d- i- e which man did the enemy shoot? 
fight man-PIV which man shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND

heipa'a-lo' gayale hao- d- i- e where did he shoot the pig? 
which- AD pig shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND

heipa'hoya- vi' ma'i de- ma' dagae' gayale hao- d- i- e which garden- IN this man PIV my pig shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND in which garden did this man shoot my pig?

da- kana- vi' gayale hao- d- i- e when did he shoot the 
which- time-IN pig shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND pig?

heipa' gana- vi' gayale hao- d- i- e when did he shoot the 
which time-IN pig shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND pig?

gayale da'- ouva- na- loti' hao- d- i- e 
which-likeness-COMP-INST shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND what did he shoot the pig with?

heipa' havu- loti' gayale hao- d- i- e with which bow did he 
which bow- INST pig shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND shoot the pig?

gayale lose' heipa' gava' hu- d- i- e what did he do to the pig? 
pig BEN which kind do-PAST-3.SG-IND

gayale heipa' gava' hu- na hao- d- i- e how did he shoot the 
pig which kind do-3.SG shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND pig?

gayale da'- ouva gava' hu- na hao- d- i- e 
pig which-likeness kind do-3.SG shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND

why did he shoot the pig?
3.2.1.14 Emphatic

Emphatic clauses are basically the same as indicative clauses, except for the verb in the predicate slot occurring in emphatic form. Examples:

LOC | PRED
--- | ---
ma'i-lo' | bei-s-u-gi
this-AD | live-IFUT-1.SG-EMPH

I shall definitely stay here!

TEMP | LOC | OBJ | PRED
--- | --- | --- | ---
hani'-inaga | hoya-di-vi' | gayale-ka | hao-d-i-gi
night-IN | garden-my-IN | pig-your | shoot-PAST-3.SG-EMPH

he definitely shot your pig in my garden at night!

3.2.1.15 Conditional final (see also 2.3.3.24.3)

Irreal conditional final verb forms may occur in the predicate of independent clauses. Usually such clauses occur as apodosis following an irreal conditional medial clause (protasis), and that kind of sequence may be glossed if... then... (cf. 3.2.2.13.3 and 3.3.1.2). Such independent conditional clauses may, however, infrequently occur in isolation. The subject slot is obligatory in such clauses, and the tense which is not expressed by the verb form, is determined by the context. Examples:

SUBJ | OBJ | PRED
--- | --- | ---
lagaea | a'i ve-ka | hae-sine
we | that man-SG | shoot-IRF

we would shoot that man

SUBJ | OBJ | PRED
--- | --- | ---
bade lole tagaea | gokole' | gumina eli'-ene hine
boy two they dl | chicken | steal-IRF

the two boys would steal the chicken

3.2.1.2 Non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal clauses may be positive or negative equational clauses, or interrogative clauses. There is no copula in Yagaria, the non-verbal predicate is marked by a suffix. Usually non-verbal clauses have only two slots, a subject and a predicate slot, of which only the predicate slot is obligatory.

Independent non-verbal clauses occupy the main slot of sentences, they may not be preceded, however, by any dependent verbal clauses.
3.2.1.21 Positive equational

The predicate slot is occupied by a noun or noun phrase, or an adjective in predicative form, suffixed with the equation marker -e'.

Examples:

PRED
hagana-e' it is tasty
tasty- EQ

SUBJ
ma'i ege-mo hagana-e' this banana is tasty
tasty- EQ

SUBJ
m-igopa gaga'e-igopa-e' this land is yours
tasty- EQ

SUBJ
ma-yo-ba' eigava yona-e' this house is new
tasty- EQ

SUBJ
a'i laga-mo dote'na-e' that fruit is edible
tasty- EQ

The predicate may also occur without equation marker occasionally:

SUBJ
a'i yava-ma' laga-'a hagana-'ago' the fruit of that tree is
tasty- RE very tasty

SUBJ
a'i de-ma' agi-'a Guvi the name of that man is Kuvi

SUBJ
a'i de-ma' agi-'a Guvi-'a the name of that man is Kuvi

3.2.1.22 Negative equational

The predicate slot may be occupied by a noun or noun phrase, or an adjective in predicative form, suffixed with the negative marker -opa / -ope / -nope.
Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m-igopa gagae' igopa-ope</td>
<td>this land is not yours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this-land your land-NEG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-de-ma' ega o- d- i- ma' de-opa</td>
<td>this man is not the one who came yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this-man-PIV yesterday come-PAST-3.SG-PIV man-NEG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The predicate may also be occupied by a nominalized-locative verb form suffixed with the negative marker:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yava</td>
<td>hano-d- i- ma-to-nope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree</td>
<td>exist-PAST-3.SG-PIV-AD-NEG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A third construction for negative non-verbal clauses occurs with verb-derived adjectives or nouns occurring in the predicate. Such words can be negated with the verbal negative marker a', and the predicate then carries the equation marker as suffix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-yava laga-mo</td>
<td>a- dote'na-e'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this-tree fruit-CON NEG-food- EQ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1.23 Interrogative

The predicate slot is occupied by a noun or noun phrase, or an adjective in predicative form, suffixed with the interrogative marker. Usually the real interrogative marker occurs, but infrequently also the conditional interrogative marker may occur.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m-igopa gagae' igopa-vie</td>
<td>is this land yours?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this-land your land-INT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-yo-ba' eigava yo-pie</td>
<td>is this house a new one?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this-house-PIV new house-INT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.2 Dependent clauses

Dependent clauses occupy marginal, i.e. non-final slots in sentences. Some types of dependent clauses, through embedding, occupy slots in phrases, and slots within other clauses.

3.2.2.1 Verbal clauses

The construction of dependent verbal clauses parallels that of the independent verbal clauses. As in those, the only obligatory slot is the predicate slot. All other slots may occur in the same preference of order as described in 3.2.1.1.

The difference between independent and dependent clauses is, besides their occurrence, the fact that the verb filling the head slot of the phrase which occupies the predicate slot, in dependent clauses can never be a "final" verb, but occurs in a medial or otherwise dependent form. Verb forms occurring in independent clauses, do not occur in dependent clauses, and vice versa.

3.2.2.11 Medial clauses

The verb in the predicate slot occurs in any of the medial verb forms described in the morphology section under 2.3.3.1. Because of the medial verb forms which refer not only to the subject of the present clause, but also to that of the following one, each medial clause is very closely linked with the clause following it. The medial clause is therefore the most obviously dependent clause in the language, and also the most frequently occurring clause type at large, especially in narratives.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOC (ni- to')</th>
<th>PRED (u-na)</th>
<th>Go-3.SG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>water-AD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INST (hali-lo-ti')</th>
<th>OBJ (gayale)</th>
<th>PRED (hao-lo-ka)</th>
<th>Shoot-CPL-2.SG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arrow-INST</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOC (yo-to')</th>
<th>PRED (va'yu h-i-ga-da)</th>
<th>Arrive-3.SG-NI-I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>house-AD</td>
<td></td>
<td>He arrives/arrived at the village, and I...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
OBJ | PRED
hali ne-k-a-ga-ta while they are/were lighting the fire,
fire PROG-light-3.PL-NI-we we...

PRED
fili-s- u-ga-tati when I shall die, you dl ...
die- IFUT-1.SG-NI-you dl

Medial clauses can be chained together in potentially unlimited number, with each preceding clause always depending on the following one. (In the following example, single lines separate slots within clauses, double lines separate clauses).

SUBJ | OBJ | PRED | LOC
a' yuva pagaea | ba | gavi-da | guma-to'
woman group they sweet potato dig-3.PL village-AD

PRED | PRED | PRED
eli-da e-da | ta'ei-da | l-am-i-ga-ta

PRED | OBJ | PRED
emu gi-lo-ta | tupa'-a | do-lo-ta
cook in earth oven-CPL-1.PL part-its eat-CPL-1.PL

OBJ | PRED
tupa'-a | lap-ami-s-un-aga-tapi | ....
part-its you pl-give-IFUT-1.PL-NI-you pl

the women will dig out sweet potatoes and bring them to the village, peel them and give them to us, and we shall cook them in the earth oven, shall eat part of them, and give part of them to you pl, and you pl ...

3.2.2.12 Locational clauses

Clauses of this type have in their predicate a verb of the forms described in the morphology under 2.3.3.23.1. They occupy, through embedding, locational or temporal slots in clauses.

The clause

TEMP | OBJ | PRED
ega | dote'na | do-d- u-pa-to'
yesterday food eat-PAST-1.PL-PIV-AD
at the place where we ate the food yesterday

occupies the locational slot in the following clause:
at the place where we ate the food yesterday, we shall eat again today

Likewise, the clause

occupies the temporal slot in the following clause:

for more examples, cf. 2.3.3.23.1

3.2.2.13 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses occupy marginal slots in sentences. The verb in their predicate slot occurs in one of the forms described in the morphology under 2.3.3.24.

3.2.2.13.1 Real conditional, or temporal clause (see also 2.3.3.24.1)

The verb in the predicate slot occurs with the suffixed pivotal marker and -to'. The tense of the verb has to correspond with the tense of the verb in the following clause if that is an independent clause, as is usually the case. If the following clause is also a dependent one, and not determined with regard to tense, then the tense of the verb in the real conditional, or temporal clause has to correspond with the tense of the verb in the next occurring independent clause in the chain.

Examples:

LOC | PRED
na- lo' | va'yu hu-d- u- pa- to' | arrive-PAST-1.PL-PIV-RC
that-AD | when we arrived there...
3.2.2.13.2 Potential conditional clause (see also 2.3.3.24.2)

The verb in the predicate slot occurs with the suffixed pivotal marker and -bobo. The tense of the verb has to correspond with the tense of the verb in the next occurring independent clause in the chain, as described for the real conditional clause.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEMP</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hemeti</td>
<td>Goloka-lo'</td>
<td>i- s- u- pa- to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>today</td>
<td>Goroka-AD</td>
<td>go-IFUT-1.PL-PIV-RC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>when we shall go to Goroka today...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da-valu- di-magi</td>
<td>ne'- a- ma- to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my-friend-my-PL</td>
<td>PROG-come 3.PL-PIV-RC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as my friends are coming...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.2.13.3 Irreal conditional clause (see also 2.3.3.24.3)

The verb in the predicate slot occurs with the suffixed pivotal marker and -tone hipana. This clause always occupies the marginal slot (protasis) in a counterfactual sentence, and is obligatorily followed by an irreal conditional-final independent clause (apodosis). The tense of the whole construction is determined by the verb of the dependent clause.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na- lo'</td>
<td>va'yu hi-d- a- ma- bobo in case they arrived there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that-AD</td>
<td>arrive- PAST-3.PL-PIV-PC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEMP</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hemeti</td>
<td>Goloka-lo'</td>
<td>i- s- u- pa- bobo in case we shall go to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>today</td>
<td>Goroka-AD</td>
<td>go-IFUT-1.PL-PIV-RC Goroka today</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da-valu- di-magi</td>
<td>ne'- a- ma- bobo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my-friend-my-PL</td>
<td>PROG-come 3.PL-PIV-RC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in case my friends are coming</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na- lo'</td>
<td>va'yu hi-d- a- ma- tone hipana if they would have arrived there...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that-AD</td>
<td>arrive- PAST-3.PL-PIV-IRM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Motivational clauses occupy marginal slots in sentences. The verb in the predicate slot occurs suffixed with the pivotal marker and the motivational marker -bose' (cf. 2.3.3.23.2).

Examples:

```
SUBJ | OBJ   | PRED
---|-------|------
gabe | hagita | g- afo lo- d- u- pa- bose'
we   | knife  | you-take away-PAST-1.PL-PIV-MOT

because we took away the knife from you...
```

```
SUBJ | OBJ   | PRED
---|-------|------
gai bogo-vi' | ma- yo- to' | a- bei- s- a- ma- bose'
moon one-IN  | this-house-AD| NEG-live-IFUT-3.PL-PIV-MOT

because in another month they will not be in this village
```

```
SUBJ | LOC  | OBJ  | PRED
---|------|-----|------
gayale-ma' | hoya- 'a- vi' | emu  | do- d- i- ma- bose'
pig- PIV   | garden-his-IN| ground| eat-PAST-3.SG-PIV-MOT

because the pig rooted up the ground in his garden
```

3.2.2.15 Nominalized clauses (cf. also morphology 2.3.3.23)

The verb in the predicate slot of these clauses carries the pivotal marker. Clauses of this kind mainly occur through embedding in phrases, filling the descriptive slot in modified noun phrases, or the axis slot in axis-relater phrases.
Nominalized clauses by themselves, especially when they are transitive, are often difficult to gloss, since their meaning becomes unambiguously evident only within a phrase.

E.g. the clause

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{OBJ} & \text{PRED} \\
\text{yo' ne- k- i- ma'} & \text{house PROG-build-3.PL-PIV}
\end{array}
\]

may be glossed as they who are building the house or as the house they are building, and only within a phrase it becomes clear what is meant:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{MOD} & \text{H} \\
yo' ne- k- i- ma' & \text{house PROG-build-3.PL-PIV}
\end{array}
\]

Other examples:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{OBJ} & \text{PRED} \\
\text{game' yale} & \text{hae- s- u- pa'}
\end{array}
\]

fight people shoot-IFUT-1.PL-PIV

we who shall kill the enemies or the enemies we shall kill

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{TEMP} & \text{OBJ} & \text{PRED} \\
bogo vita' & \text{hoya eli- d- u- pa'} & \text{work make-PAST-1.PL-PIV}
\end{array}
\]

we who did the work at another time or the work we did at another time

Intransitive clauses are somewhat less ambiguous:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{LOC} & \text{PRED} \\
\text{Huva-gayagati' e- d- a- ma'} & \text{Lufa-AB come-PAST-3.PL-PIV}
\end{array}
\]

they who came from Lufa

Another form of nominalized clause is that in which the verb carries the quality derivative marker -te' :

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{OBJ} & \text{PRED} \\
ge & \text{havi-te'}
\end{array}
\]

word hear-QD

...who hear/heard the word
Also this type of clause can be unambiguously glossed only when occurring within a phrase:

\[
\text{MOD} \quad \text{H} \\
\text{ega} \quad \text{havi-te} \quad \text{bade} \quad \text{the boy who heard the word} \\
\text{word hear-QD} \quad \text{boy} \\
\text{MOD} \quad \text{H} \\
\text{ega} \quad \text{fili-te} \quad \text{yale} \quad \text{the people who died yesterday} \\
\text{yesterday die-QD} \quad \text{people}
\]

3.2.2.16 Purposive clauses

Purposive clauses occupy marginal slots in sentences. The verb in the predicate slot of purposive clauses occurs usually, but not always, in the intentional future tense, and always carries a suffixed anticipation marker as described in the morphology under 2.3.3.25.

Examples:

\[
\text{OBJ} \quad \text{PRED} \\
\text{gale bogo} \quad \text{bina fei-s- u- pe'} \quad \text{in order that we may buy a car...} \\
\text{car one} \quad \text{buy- IFUT-1.PL-ANT} \\
\text{INST} \\
\text{game' yale-ti} \quad \text{havu-lot'i'} \\
\text{fight people-our bow- INST} \\
\text{PRED} \\
\text{fao-ta gini pa-te-s- un-e- ge'} \\
\text{them shoot-1.PL kill them-put-IFUT-1.PL-IND-ANT} \\
in order that we may shoot our enemies with bows...
\]

\[
\text{TEMP} \quad \text{LOC} \\
\text{ega} \quad \text{buga} \quad \text{Filigano yale- 'i- togati'} \\
tomorrow \quad \text{over there Filigano people-REL-AB} \\
\text{OBJ} \quad \text{PRED} \\
\text{ana bogo} \quad \text{agavei-s- a- me'} \\
\text{woman one lead- IFUT-3.PL-ANT} \\
in order that they may tomorrow bring a woman from over there from the Filigano people...
3.2.2.17 Referent Action Clauses

Clauses of this type contain a marker with the allomorphs -ese', -'ese', or -ges'. These verb forms are described in the morphology under 2.3.3.27.

Such clauses occur as follows:
Clauses with a medial verb form and suffixed -ese' / -'ese' occupy marginal slots in sentences, and have usually the same meaning and function as medial clauses:

```
PRED
ne' a' aga-ni-'ese-bo while they dl are/were coming, he...
PROG-come 3.DL-NI- he-'ese-CON
```

Clauses with -ges' suffixed to the verb stem or after a PN marker, have temporal or conditional meaning, and occupy marginal slots in sentences.

```
PRED
go' eli-gese' while it was going to get light...
get day-gese'
```

(cf. also examples under 2.3.3.27 and 3.3.1.2)

Such clauses may also occupy the axis slot in axis-relater phrases, cf. 3.1.1.33.

3.2.2.18 Interrogative

Dependent interrogative clauses occupy marginal slots in sentences. They express either one out of a chain of questions, or else questions embedded in a larger linguistic structure.

In yes-no questions, the verb in the predicate slot occurs with the conditional interrogative marker.

Examples:

```
PRED
o- d- i- vi did he come, or...
come-PAST-3.SG-INTC
```

```
SUBJ
a'i de- ma' gayale hao- d- i- vi
that man-PIV pig shoot-PAST-3.SG-INTC
did that man shoot the pig, or...
```

Examples for the linking up of such dependent interrogative clauses with independent clauses are given under 3.3.1.2.
Dependent information questions are formed by interrogative words or interrogative phrases occupying the slot which the question aims at.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nala'a-ma'</td>
<td>gayale</td>
<td>hao- lo- na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who-</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td>shoot-CPL-3.SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heipa'de- ma'</td>
<td>gayale</td>
<td>hao- lo- na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which man-</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td>shoot-CPL-3.SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heipa'a-lo'</td>
<td>gayale</td>
<td>hao- lo- na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which-</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td>shoot-CPL-3.SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>game' yale- magi</td>
<td>heipa've- ka</td>
<td>hae- le- da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fight people-PL</td>
<td>which man-SG</td>
<td>shoot-CPL-3.PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which man did the enemies shoot, and...?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Purposive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heipa' gale bina fei-s- a- pe' in order that you may buy which car</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which car buy- IFUT-2.SG-PIV car...?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dependent information questions often carry, beside the interrogative word or interrogative phrase in the slot at which the question aims, the conditional interrogative marker suffixed to the verb in the predicate slot:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heipa'de- ma'</td>
<td>gayale</td>
<td>hao- d- i- vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which man-</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td>shoot-PAST-3.SG-INTC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heipa'galey hao- d- i- vi</td>
<td>which pig he shot...?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which pig shoot-PAST-3.SG-INTC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above clauses may occupy the object slot in a transitive clause, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heipa'de- ma' gayale hao- d- i- vi a'- ago-d- un-e</td>
<td>we did not see which man shot the pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which man-</td>
<td>shoot-PAST-3.SG-INTC NEG-see-PAST-1.PL-IND</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other interrogative constructions are described on sentence level, cf. 3.3.1.3 and 3.3.2.2.

3.2.2.2 Non-verbal clauses

Dependent non-verbal clauses occupy marginal slots in sentences. As their independent counterparts, they have usually only two slots, subject and predicate, and they may be positive or negative equational clauses, or interrogative clauses.

The dependent positive equational clause differs from its independent counterpart by not carrying the equation marker:

Examples:

```
SUBJ   PRED
ma'i ege- mo hagana... ...that this banana is tasty
this banana-CON tasty
```

```
SUBJ   PRED
m- igopa gagae igopa... ...that this land is yours
this land your land
```

```
SUBJ   PRED
a'i laga- mo dote'na... ...that that fruit is edible
that fruit-CON food
```

The dependent negative equational clause is formally the same as its independent counterpart, except if a verb-derived noun or adjective occurs in the predicate, and can be negated by a'.

Examples:

```
SUBJ   PRED
m- igopa gagae' igopa-nope... ...that this is not your land
this land your land- NEG
```

```
SUBJ   PRED
ma- yava laga- mo a- dote'na... ...that this tree fruit is not
this tree fruit-CON NEG- food edible
```

The dependent interrogative non-verbal clause differs from its independent counterpart by the predicate carrying the conditional interrogative marker instead of the real interrogative marker.
Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| m- igopa     | gagae' igopa-vi           | ...whether this is your land...
| this-land    | your land- INTC           |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| a' i laga- mo   | dote'na-vi                | ...whether that fruit is edible...
| that fruit-CON  | food- INTC                |

A sub-form of the non-verbal dependent clause, not occurring very frequently, is a clause with a nominalized verb (carrying the goal-nominalizer -te'na) plus the benefactive marker. It occurs in benefactive slots of clauses (cf. 3.2.1.11).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| lagae          | fili-te'na-e'             | ...for we would (could) die...
| we             | die- GN BEN               |

This clause may be expanded into a clause chain with preceding medial clauses:

vato' dote'na do- lo- ta fili-te'na-e' ...
strange food eat-CPL-1.PL die- GN- BEN
...for we could die after eating the strange food

3.3 SENTENCES

For the purpose of this grammar, a Yagaria sentence is defined as follows:

- It is a complete utterance.
- It is a linguistic construction which occurs above clause level, and is isolatable.
- It shows special junctural features, as it consists typically, though not always, of clauses which are joined together.

A sentence is also an intonational unit. The intonational pitch rises towards the predicate of the main clause, and then falls, often quite abruptly, at the end of the predicate. Only the final intonation "fall" will be indicated in the following sections by an arrowhead \( \uparrow \) to indicate the end of a sentence.

In longer sentences, the intonation pattern may at times be interrupted, and "auxiliary" falls may occur in the middle of the sentence.
3.3.1 Independent sentences

An independent sentence consists of or includes at least one independent clause, and is not linked by any construction feature to the sentence preceding it.

3.3.1.1 Simple independent sentence

A simple independent sentence consists of one independent clause, verbal or non-verbal, as described in 3.2.1, with the characteristics of the sentence intonation pattern:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bakisave-ma'</td>
<td>bade</td>
<td>hao- d- i- e +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake-</td>
<td>PIV boy</td>
<td>shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the snake bit the boy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.1.2 Complex independent sentence

A complex independent sentence consists of one, and only one, independent clause preceded by a potentially unlimited number of dependent clauses. (For the chaining of clauses, cf. also 3.2.2.11). Such chaining together of clauses into a complex sentence must not, however, be seen as subordination of clauses as in Indo-European languages, since the Yagaria dependent clauses are dependent by virtue of their form, or more precisely, the form of their predicate, not by virtue of attached subordinating words or phrases. Each verb in a sentence, except when it belongs into a close-knit verb phrase and therefore is part of a semantic unit, has to be regarded as nucleus of a separate clause.

Examples of how different dependent and independent clauses are put together to form sentences, are given in the following. (Single lines separate slots within clauses, double lines separate clauses.)

Medial, identical subject + Indicative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a- ba'</td>
<td>hoya</td>
<td>eli- na bage'</td>
<td>no- kal- i- e +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman-PIV</td>
<td>garden</td>
<td>make-3.SG</td>
<td>sweet potato leaf</td>
<td>PROG-plant-3.SG-IND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the woman is working the garden, and is planting sweet potato leaves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
while my friend was eating, he told me that news

after shooting that pig, we shall butcher it

while you are eating, listen to me!

after you dl finish eating the sugarcane, throw dl away the scraps over there!

after we have eaten, shall we go?

did you wash and comb your hair?
Medial, non-identical subject + Indicative:

```
OBJ  |  PRED  |  PRED  
---|---|---
eve  |  d- am- i- ga-da  |  do- d- u- e  
sugarcane  |  me-give-3.SG-NI-I  |  eat-PAST-1.SG-IND

he gave me sugarcane, and I ate
```

```
PRED  |  LOC  |  PRED  
ou' no'- ha-e- ga-ta  |  yo-'a- vi'  |  a'- hei- g- un- e  
PROG- 3.SG-NI-we  |  house-his-IN  |  NEG-go up-FUT-1.PL-IND

sleep-
while he is sleeping, we shall not go into his house
```

```
OBJ  |  PRED  |  OBJ  |  PRED  
---|---|---|---
ba  |  do- d- i- ga-pi  |  age  |  hapei-d- a- e  

after he had eaten the sweet potatoes, they told him the news
```

```
OBJ  |  PRED  |  OBJ  |  PRED  
hali- ti  |  poloti-s- an- aga-ta  |  bina  |  g- ami- g- un- e  
firewood-our  |  split- IFUT-2.SG-NI- we  |  price  |  you-give-FUT-1.PL-IND

after you split our firewood, we shall pay you
```

Medial, non-identical subject + Imperative:

```
SUBJ  |  PRED  |  PRED  
---|---|---
game' yale  |  va'yu ne- s-a- ga-tapi  |  falaki-io  
fight people  |  PROG- 3.PL-NI-you pl  |  hide- IM PL

arrive-
the enemies are arriving, hide pl!
```

```
OBJ  |  PRED  |  OBJ  |  PRED  
hagita  |  g- am- u- ga-ka  |  gavu  |  halaga hu-o  
knife  |  you-give-1.SG-NI-you  |  grass  |  cut- IM SG

I give you a knife, cut the grass!
```

Medial, non-identical subject + Interrogative:

```
SUBJ  |  LOC  |  OBJ  |  PRED  
---|---|---|---
Foven gayale-'a  |  hoya- ka- vi'  |  emu  |  de- s- i- ga-ka  
Foven pig- his  |  garden-your-IN  |  ground  |  eat-IFUT-3.SG-NI-you

PRED  
hae- s- a- pie  
shoot-IFUT-2.SG-INT

when Foven's pig roots up the ground in your garden, will you shoot it?
```
Dependent interrogative + Indicative:

SUBJ | OBJ | PRED | PRED
--- | --- | --- | ---
bade-di-ma'| ba | lap-am-i-ga-tapi | de-d-a-vie +
boy-my-PIV | sweet potato | you pl | give-3.SG-NI-you pl | eat-PAST-2.PL-INT
did my boy give you pl sweet potatoes, and did you pl eat?

Real conditional + Medial, non-identical subject + Indicative:

LOC | PRED | SUBJ
--- | --- | ---
guma-to' | va'yu hu-d- u-pa-to' | yo'aepa yale
village-AD | arrive-PAST-1.PL-PIV-RC | house origin people

OBJ | PRED | PRED
--- | --- | ---
ba | l-am-i-ga-ta | do-d-un-e +
sweet potato | us-give-3.PL-NI-we | eat-PAST-1.PL-IND
when we arrived in the village, the inhabitants gave us sweet potatoes, and we ate

Real conditional + Medial, identical subject + Imperative:

SUBJ | PRED | OBJ
--- | --- | ---
da-valu-di-magi | ne'-a-ma-to' | eve
my-friend-my-PL | PROG-come 3.PL-PIV-RC | sugarcane

PRED | PRED
--- | ---
eli-ka o-ka | p-ami-o +
take-2.SG | come-2.SG | them-give-IM SG
as my friends are coming, bring sugarcane and give it to them!

Potential Conditional + Indicative:

TEMP | LOC | PRED | PRED
--- | --- | --- | ---
emeti | Goloka-lo' | i-s-u-pa-bobo | g-agavei-g-un-e +
today | Goroka-AD | go-IPUT-1.PL-PIV-PC | you-lead- FUT-1.PL-IND
if we go to Goroka today, we shall take you along
Potential Conditional + Interrogative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEMP</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>PRED</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hemeti</td>
<td>Goloka-lo'</td>
<td>i- s- a- pa- bobo</td>
<td>d- agavei-s- a- pie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>today</td>
<td>Goroka-AD</td>
<td>go-IFUT-2.SG-PIV-PC</td>
<td>me-lead- IFUT-2.SG-INT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*if you go to Goroka today, shall you take me along?*

Irreal Conditional Protasis + Apodosis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEMP</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>PRED</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hemeti</td>
<td>Goloka-lo'</td>
<td>i- s- u- pa- tone hipana</td>
<td>g- agavei-sine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>today</td>
<td>Goroka-AD</td>
<td>go-IFUT-1.PL-PIV-IRM</td>
<td>you-lead- IRF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*if we would go to Goroka today, we would take you along*

Motivational + Indicative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEMP</th>
<th>PRED</th>
<th>TEMP</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>henaga'a</td>
<td>bogo'e a'- e- s- u- ma- bose'</td>
<td>hemeti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>later</td>
<td>again</td>
<td>NEG-come-IFUT-1.SG-PIV-MOT</td>
<td>today</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'i ge</td>
<td>ga- ha'-no- p-ou- e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*tell*

*because later I shall not come again, I am telling you that now*

Motivational + Imperative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'i gayale-ma'</td>
<td>hoya- tipi- vi'</td>
<td>emu no- d- e- ma- bose'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>that pig- PIV garden-your pl-IN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*shoot-IM PL*

*because that pig is rooting up the ground in your pl garden, shoot pl it!*
Motivational + Interrogative:

SUBJ | LOC | OBJ | PRED
---|---|---|---
a'i gayale-ma' | hoya- ka- vi' | emu do- d- i- ma- bose'
that pig- PIV | garden-your-IN | ground eat-PAST-3.SG-PIV-MOT

PRED
hae- s- a- pie' ∨
shoot-IFUT-2.SG-INT

will you shoot that pig, because it rooted up the ground in your garden?

Purposive + Indicative:

OBJ | PRED | LOC | PRED
---|---|---|---
yaga | hae- s- u- pe' | yao- vi' | no'- u- n- e ∨
animal shoot-IFUT-1.PL-ANT | forest-IN | PROG-go-1.PL-IND

we are going to the forest in order to shoot animals

Purposive + Interrogative:

OBJ | PRED | LOC | PRED
---|---|---|---
yaga | hae- s- a- me' | yao- vi' | ne'- v- a- vie ∨
animal shoot-IFUT-2.PL-ANT | forest-IN | PROG-go-2.PL-INT

are you pl going into the forest in order to shoot animals?

Interrogative purposive + Indicative:

OBJ | PRED | LOC | PRED
---|---|---|---
da'- ouva- na | hae- s- a- me' | yao- vi' | ne'- v- a- e ∨
which-likeness-COMP shoot-IFUT-2.PL-ANT | forest-IN | PROG-go-2.PL-IND

what to shoot are you pl going into the forest?

Purposive + Imperative:

OBJ | PRED | LOC | PRED
---|---|---|---
ba | gavi-s- a- me' | hoya- vi' | i- io ∨
sweet potato dig- IFUT-2.PL-ANT | garden-IN | go-IM PL

go pl to the garden to dig sweet potatoes!

-gese' - Clause + Indicative:

PRED | SUBJ | PRED
---|---|---
go' eli-gese' | avaya | bolo-d- i- e
get day-gese' | glow | put- PAST-3.SG-IND

while it was going to get light, the glow of dawn appeared
The chaining of a dependent and an independent non-verbal clause into a complex sentence occurs mainly with double-question sentences. The interrogative marker will occur either with the dependent clause as conditional interrogative marker, or with the independent clause as real interrogative marker:

Non-verbal dependent interrogative + Non-verbal positive equational:

```
SUBJ    PRED    PRED
m-igopa-mo gagae'igopa-vi vato'de-ma'igopa-e' +
this-land-C your land-INTC another man-PIV land-EQ
```

`is this your land, or another man's land?`

Non-verbal dependent positive equational + Non-verbal interrogative:

```
SUBJ    PRED    PRED
m-igopa-mo gagae'igopa vato'de-ma'igopa-vie +
this-land-C your land another man-PIV land-INT
```

`is this your land, or another man's land?`

A sentence containing twelve dependent clauses and one independent clause, is given as example in the following, and for the sake of clearness, each clause is written in a separate line:

```
SUBJ    LOC    PRED
abade yuva-magi yao-vinaga hei-da
girl group-PL forest-IN go-up-3.PL
```

`the girls went up into the forest and...`
...collected fusu mushrooms and...

...put them into their netbags and...

...broke up firewood and...

...talked and...

...came down and...

...put down the firewood and...

...took off their netbags and...

...put them down and...

...while they were sorting out the mushrooms they had gotten...
The girls went up into the forest, collected fusu mushrooms and put them into their netbags, then they broke up firewood, talked, and came down, and put down the firewood, took their netbags off and put them down, and while they were sorting out the mushrooms they had collected, they became tired, and the one big girl which had taken them up, fell asleep, and so they all slept there.

If the verb in a dependent clause is an impersonal verb, which as grammatical subject has a neutral "it", as is obvious from its final indicative forms, e.g.

*lap- agekani-d- i- e* it made you pl forget, or forgetting you pl-forget- PAST-3.SG-IND 
*beset you pl, i.e. you pl forgot,*

the dependent verb carries often the PN marker of the "semantic" subject, in this case of the 2. person plural, and its form is adjusted to relate to the following clause:

**BEN** | **PRED** | **PRED**
--- | --- | ---
*dagae-se'* | lap- agekani-ta | *da-tele- d- a- e*
*you forgot me, and left me*

(cf. also morphology, 2.3.4.3)
Reciprocal actions, with the exception of those mentioned in 2.3.4.4 and 3.1.2.2, are usually expressed in a complex sentence with at least two clauses:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PRED} & \quad \text{OBJ} & \quad \text{PRED} \\
\text{da-beg-} & \quad \text{ga-da} & \quad \text{agaea} & \quad \text{begi-d-} & \quad \text{u-} & \quad \text{e} \\
\text{me-beat-3.SG-NI-I} & \quad \text{him} & \quad \text{beat-PAST-1.SG-IND}
\end{align*}
\]

he hit me, and I hit him, i.e. we hit each other

3.3.1.3 Compound independent sentences

A compound independent sentence consists of two or more independent clauses, or even sentences. Such compound sentences have no special morphological junctural features, but they have to be regarded as a close-knit unit because of semantic features, and the intonation pattern, with a fall at the end.

Compound sentences are not too frequent in Yagaria, and occur mainly with verbs of perception, or with quotes.

Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{SUBJ} & \quad \text{OBJ} & \quad \text{PRED} & \quad \text{PRED} \\
& \text{nala'a-ma'} & \quad \text{gayale} & \quad \text{hao-} & \quad \text{d-} & \quad \text{i-} & \quad \text{e} & \quad \text{a'-} & \quad \text{ago-} & \quad \text{d-} & \quad \text{u-} & \quad \text{e} & \quad \text{+} \\
& \text{who-} & \quad \text{PIV} & \quad \text{pig} & \quad \text{shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND} & \quad \text{NEG-see-PAST-1.SG-IND} \\
& & & & & \\
& \text{I did not see who shot the pig}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{SUBJ} & \quad \text{OBJ} & \quad \text{PRED} & \quad \text{PRED} \\
& \text{heipa'bade-ma'} & \quad \text{gokole'} & \quad \text{gumina eli-} & \quad \text{d-} & \quad \text{i-} & \quad \text{e} & \quad \text{a'-} & \quad \text{ago-} & \quad \text{d-} & \quad \text{un-} & \quad \text{e} & \quad \text{+} \\
& \text{which boy-} & \quad \text{PIV} & \quad \text{chicken} & \quad \text{steal-} & \quad \text{PAST-3.SG-IND} & \quad \text{NEG-see-PAST-1.PL-IND} \\
& & & & & \\
& \text{we did not see which boy stole the chicken}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{PRED} & \quad \text{PRED} & \quad \text{PRED} \\
& \text{o-} & \quad \text{d-} & \quad \text{i-} & \quad \text{vi} & \quad \text{a'-} & \quad \text{o-} & \quad \text{d-} & \quad \text{i-} & \quad \text{e} & \quad \text{a'-} & \quad \text{havi-d-} & \quad \text{u-} & \quad \text{e} & \quad \text{+} \\
& \text{come-PAST-3.SG-INTC} & \quad \text{NEG-come-PAST-3.SG-IND} & \quad \text{NEG-hear-PAST-1.SG-IND} \\
& & & & & \\
& \text{I did not hear whether he came or not}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{PRED} & \quad \text{PRED} & \quad \text{OBJ} \\
& \text{o-} & \quad \text{d-} & \quad \text{i-} & \quad \text{vi} & \quad \text{a'-} & \quad \text{o-} & \quad \text{d-} & \quad \text{i-} & \quad \text{e} & \quad \text{na-} & \quad \text{bo'} \\
& \text{come-PAST-3.SG-INTC} & \quad \text{NEG-come-PAST-3.SG-IND} & \quad \text{that-matter} \\
& & & & & \\
& \text{PRED} & \quad \text{a'-} & \quad \text{havi-d-} & \quad \text{u-} & \quad \text{e} & \quad \text{+} \\
& \text{NEG-hear-PAST-1.SG-IND} \\
& & & & & \\
& \text{I did not hear whether he came or not}
\end{align*}
\]
Quote clauses can also be inserted into another clause, so the above compound sentence may be constructed as follows:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>PRED</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agaea</td>
<td>ma-ge</td>
<td>no-s-i- e</td>
<td>ma-lo'</td>
<td>bei-g-u- e +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>this-word</td>
<td>PROG-say-3.SG-IND</td>
<td>this-AD</td>
<td>live-FUT-1.SG-IND</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

he says: I shall stay here
```

Note: It is also possible to regard this last construction as one clause, describing the inserted clause as filling the object slot (cf. 3.2.1.11), but in view of the close relation with the first quote construction listed above, the description as compound sentence is preferable.

### 3.3.2 Dependent sentences

Dependent sentences are complete utterances, and have also the intonational characteristics of sentences. They can, however, because of their structure and occurrence, not stand in isolation, and become unintelligible when taken out of their context.

#### 3.3.2.1 Sequence sentences

This type of construction features an additional initial slot, which could be termed "sequence" slot. This slot may be occupied by the conjunction nagi and then, or by a dependent verb, verb phrase, or clause. By this sequence conjunction the otherwise independent sentence is linked to the preceding sentence, and becomes dependent on it.

To illustrate sequence sentences, in the following always two sentences are presented, of which the second in line occurs with the sequence conjunction, and therefore depends on the preceding one.
While that pig was rooting up the ground in my garden, I went and shot it. And then the owner of the pig came and abused me very much.

Verbs and verbal constructions occurring in the sequence slot, usually repeat the action last described in the preceding sentence. If the last sentence ends with a quotation of speech, usually the verb huto say, or the expression nage hu-say that occurs in the sequence slot. Those verbs or verbal expressions link the following sentence to the preceding one. In the following little story every sentence after the first one has some verbal construction in the sequence slot, and is thereby linked to the sentence preceding it. The end of each sentence is marked by an arrowhead +, and the sequence slot is separated from the rest of the sentence by a single line.

While that pig was rooting up the ground in my garden, I went and shot it. And then the owner of the pig came and abused me very much.

Verbs and verbal constructions occurring in the sequence slot, usually repeat the action last described in the preceding sentence. If the last sentence ends with a quotation of speech, usually the verb huto say, or the expression nage hu-say that occurs in the sequence slot. Those verbs or verbal expressions link the following sentence to the preceding one. In the following little story every sentence after the first one has some verbal construction in the sequence slot, and is thereby linked to the sentence preceding it. The end of each sentence is marked by an arrowhead +, and the sequence slot is separated from the rest of the sentence by a single line.
Some people said: Since that pig is rooting up the ground in your garden, shoot it! When they said so, I pulled my bow and shot the pig. As I was shooting, the owner of the pig came and abused me terribly, and said to me: You bad man, eat your shit! As he said that, I got angry and was going to hit him with the axe. While I was about to do that, I slipped and fell to the ground, and the village people took away my axe from me.

3.3.2.2 Dependent parts of speech

In speech, especially in conversations, constructions from lower levels, e.g. words or phrases, may, by an upwards shift, occur as sentences.

Words may occur as exclamations, i.e. vocatives, proper names, or other exclamation words:

- ve-di-ma-o + friend!
- man-my-PIV-VOC
- avo + father!
- father
- aku-o + friend!
- friend-VOC
- Asevali-o + Asevali!
- Asevali-VOC
Note: proper names more often occur in a phrase, e.g.

de Asevali  ᵃ or de Asevali-o  ᵃ Asevali!
mam Asevali mam Asevali-VOC
ovuo  ᵃ hey!
ayo  ᵃ hey!
legi-ke  ᵃ true! amen!
true-word
gasu-ge  ᵃ (it is a) lie!
lie-word

Words and phrases may occur as sentences in short responses:

ega i-s- a-pie  ᵃ he  ᵃ
tomorrow go-IFUT-2.SG-INT yes
will you go tomorrow? yes
dote'na de-d-a-vie  ᵃ e'e  ᵃ
food eat-PAST-2.PL-INT no
have you pl eaten? no
yava' gumina eli-d-a-e  ᵃ legi-pie  ᵃ legi-ke  ᵃ
money steal-PAST-3.PL-IND true-INT true-word
they stole the money truly? yes, truly
nala'a o-d-i-e  ᵃ bade-di-ma'  ᵃ
who come-PAST-3.SG-IND boy- my-PIV
who came? my son
heipa-to' hae-d-a-e  ᵃ yao- vinaga  ᵃ
which-AD sleep-PAST-2.PL-IND forest-IN
where did you sleep? in the forest

da'- ouva- na bina fei-d-an-e  ᵃ nupa gukae  ᵃ
which-likeness-COMP buy-PAST-2.SG-IND black loincloth
what did you buy? a black loincloth
heipa'a-lo' bei-d-an-e  ᵃ d-agana-di-ma' yo-pi  ᵃ
which-AD live-PAST-2.SG-IND my-younger brother-my-PIV house-IN
where did you stay? in the house of my younger brother

Also, dependent clauses may occur as sentences in speech when the context is understood.
which-time sickness take-PAST-3.SG-IND

when did he get sick? after he arrived home

where did you see the boys? when they stayed at the water

why did you shoot the pig? because it rooted up the ground in my garden

did he come or not? did he come, or? i.e. I do not know

3.3.2.3 Addition sentences

Addition sentences consist of words, phrases, or dependent clauses, which are, as an afterthought or clarification of the preceding, or as additional information, added after the completion of a sentence. Structurally, they could be explained as belonging into a slot of the preceding sentence, or a slot of the last clause of the preceding sentence, into which they would be edited in written form.

He hit and killed him. With an axe

The day before yesterday the kiap's car came, and we saw it. AT Folapi.
While the fog was coming down and enshrouding us, and it was going on raining for a long time, we lit a fire and sat there without doing anything. In the old shelter.

At the edge of the garden is a tree. A tree whose fruit is tasty to us.

I saw the Fusa people while they were dancing. After arriving, two days ago, at their village.

We are searching in vain to get sweet potatoes out of the garden. Because the sun is shining very much.
He forbade us to take that medicine. For after taking it, we might die.

3.3.2.4 Interrupted sentence

If somebody is interrupted in what he is saying, or breaks off for any other reason, there remains an incomplete sentence in which also the intonation pattern is disrupted and therefore incomplete.

because it was raining heavily, we lit a fire in the house, and....

It may happen, however, though rarely, that a dependent clause voluntarily is left without a following final clause. But that is done only if something ought to follow which is generally understood or known, and therefore does not have to be expressed.

Example:

tomorrow morning the Nipinaga people will come here, and we...

The people referred to as anticipated subject 1. person plural which then does not follow, know what they will do, since they may have talked about it previously, or what they will do is a kind of customary action.

3.4 HIGHER LEVELS

The description of any level above sentence is beyond the objective of this grammar. It should be mentioned here, however, that most probably two more levels above sentence level could be stated, but it would require further study to describe them appropriately.

In narratives very long sentences do occur, consisting of a chain of a virtually unlimited number of dependent clauses followed by a final independent clause. (cf. 3.3.2.1) Other NAN languages of New Guinea show morphological or syntactical features which suggest that such long chains may be treated as paragraphs, and may be subdivided into "sentences". So far no structural evidence has been established for
Yagaria which would justify such a segmentation. If further study should reveal that such structural features do exist, a redescription of the Yagaria sentence pattern would be necessary.
NOTES

3. Note - only a selection of villages has been indicated on the map.
6. Renck, 1967
7. Before long, quite a few New Guinean people might want to read what has been written and published about their languages, cf. Laycock, 1969.
8. cf. Renck, 1967, also for further details on the phonology in general.
9. [?k] has not been observed. This is due to morphophonemic change of [?g] to [k] (see Section 1.2).
10. The occurrence of [k] being phonemically either /k/ or /g/ is discussed extensively in Renck, 1967, pp. 29-32.
13. For /b/ and /d/, see Section 1.1.1.
15. Forthcoming.
16. In most other dialects but Move, the dual and plural show only two persons each, ego and non-ego.
17. There are no gender differences in Yagaría.

18. The form of the 2. person dual and plural may suggest that they developed as in-between forms out of the 1. and 3. person. There is sometimes ambiguity in the affixed forms (cf. 2.1.1.21).

19. e.g. dagae-ma- da I myself agae-ma- ko' only he
   I- PIV-I he- PIV-RE

20. The forms for the 2. and 3. persons plural do not occur.

21. The allomorph -'i- occurs only with i'ila'a his mother (instead of * i'ala'a).

22. For clitic -'na or rather -na, cf. 2.1.2.16.

23. An example for its occurrence on its own, is fagi-ti' from afar
   far- AB

24. Most probably this is the same morpheme as the indicative marker with verbs (cf. 2.3.2.2).

25. The marker -ka indicating singularity, has been found only occurring with the noun ve man : a'i ve- ka-ma' that man
   that man-SG-PIV

26. There is most probably a relation between this marker and the morpheme -gi described as comitative marker, cf. 2.1.2.7.

27. For a third allomorph, -'ago', cf. 2.1.3.13.

28. Attributive adjuncts usually precede the noun, whereas predicative adjuncts (which sometimes may be interpreted as nouns) follow the noun (cf. 3.1.1.13.1 and 3.1.1.16).

29. It could of course be argued that in some instances the derivation process moved the other way, so that nouns may have been derived from adjectives.

30. For non-verbal clauses without the equation marker, cf. 3.2.1.2.

31. The same feature occurring in Bena-Bena, has been described by R. Young as "Monofocal and polyfocal stem alternation" (cf. Young 1964 and 1971).

32. Described by Young for Bena-Bena as "periphrastic verb complex" (Young 1964 and 1971), and by Lang for Enga as "predication" (Lang 1971).
33. The direct chaining of verb stems is a very rare feature in Yagaria, and occurs virtually only with the verbs boló- to put and to- to put (animates).

34. In which -no could alternatively be described as consisting of Present tense (-d) plus Person-Number (-n) and Imperative mood (-o).


36. Final -e of this morpheme is probably the Indicative marker.

37. Note: The surface structure of the language leads us to speak of two objects, since both are the same morphologically and syntactically (cf. also 2.3.4.22). A deep structure analysis would reveal two different entities which could be termed "object" and "recipient". But that would go beyond the framework of this grammar.

38. To be distinguished from ageta gani- to be deaf.


40. Young 1964, pp. 78 ff, and 1971, pp. 12 ff.

41. Lang 1971, pp. 81 ff and 117 ff.

42. Note: Adjunct-auxiliary compound verbs are not regarded as phrases, but as verb units.

43. cf. Longacre pp. 1 ff.

44. cf. Longacre pp. 27 ff., Scott p. 5.
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